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Dress and Ornaments in Ancient India

The Maurya and Sunga Periods

By

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M. A. Ph. D.

Foreword By

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Foreword

Dress and ornaments are among the distinguishing external marks of any people. The fusion of people in modern times, facilitated by developed techniques of communication, is tending to universalise certain items of dress and decoration. An individual piece, introduced by one people, becomes a craze, and is adopted in different countries without any inhibition or reservation. But, even now people maintain their traditional costumes and, on formal occasions, are identified through them. In some countries and regions the traditional costumes are fanatically retained in opposition to the new popular ones.

Mutual influencing and borrowing in respect of dress and decoration could not have been brisk in the remote past. Then the regional variations were carefully noted. The significant details of the costumes of people from different foreign countries attracted curiosity and attention. But the extent to which they gained currency among other people cannot be precisely determined. The deep-rooted prejudice against foreign people must have been a serious obstacle in the way of adoption of the foreign practices and items. It can, however, be surmised that in some cases convenience and comfort and the aesthetic merit would have overcome the objection.

These elements of civilization are conditioned to a great extent by ecological factors. The climatic peculiarities determine the requirements for covering the body and warding off the rigours of climate. But the economic geography has an equally effective role to play. The availability of material, in terms of plants and minerals, is an important determining factor. No doubt, it is partially modified by the economic activities of traders and businessmen, who take products of one place to another and also bring others from far and near places. Seasonal variations require costumes of different types and material, for which people cannot remain confined to locally available facilities and practices.

The form of dress and decoration is the expression of the ideas and ideals of a people. Their aesthetic sense is reflected best in their efforts to beautify their person, to receive the attention of others, and to mark them out as distinct from and better than others. The aesthetic activities are conditioned by social values and ethical norms. A person, in adopting a particular type of dress and in decorating a particular part of his body, has to function within the limits of norms of decency and decorum accepted by his social group. The extent to which different parts of the body are to be exposed and are to be decorated is a vital consideration in determining the nature of dress and decoration. It is interesting to note that many tribes, in choosing a particular part of the body for ornamentation and in

using a particular metal or stone as a decorating element, have been motivated by their peculiar religious beliefs and faith, including superstitious notions, about good and bad effects on the physical and mental health of the person.

The dress and ornament differ according to the position and status of the person using them. Religious sects and philosophical systems prescribe specific details about the dress and other distinguishing marks to be used by their members. The government officers and servants may not have been subjected to strict regulation similar to those in operation in modern times in terms of uniforms, badges, etc., but it can be easily surmised that they had certain clear distinguishing marks. Likewise, people belonging to different social groups and occupations could have been broadly recognised by the peculiar way in which they dressed themselves. A study of the dress and ornaments is useful as indicating not merely broad divisions of high and low, rich and poor, but also several layers in social stratification.

The period of study selected here is in many respects an important one. Politically, it witnessed the culmination of the sustained efforts of Magadhan imperialism to establish its hegemony and the emergence of unification out of the fragmented political map. In the latter part of the period the centrifugal forces asserted themselves which synchronised with the intrusion of successive waves of foreign invaders.

In political theory and administration the scope of activities for state was expanded. The state recognised its responsibility for a greater involvement in the social and economic life of the people. The policy of centralisation and the closer control and participation on the part of the state is planned in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya.

The ancient social and political thinkers advocated the desirability for the state to implement social norms and to maintain the social institutions. Ancient Indian state was not theocracy in the western sense of the term. But it had an admitted responsibility to support the religious groups and to protect their interests. The growing popularity of Buddhism and its active patronage by Aśoka are taken by many scholars to have created complications and political reaction and upheaval in the closing part of Mauryan rule. The revival of Brahmanism in the post-Mauryan period is explained as having political connections.

In social history also the period had a distinct role to play. There were two strong challenges to the established social institutions and values. The internal challenge was provided by the increasing popularity of Buddhism, its asceticism, its new social philosophy, and its criticism of the social institutions. The coming of the Greeks introduced in the Indian cultural system, especially in the north-west, a totally different social set-up. The orthodox social system had to fortify itself against these two challenges. This necessitated a reformulation of the social values and system, strengthening them, and at places modifying them to accommodate the

new forces and the criticism extended by them. The resurgent and reformed Brahmanical social system finds expression in the *Manusmṛiti* and certain sections in the *Mahābhārata*.

The development of trade and industry brought in its train economic prosperity. This was further promoted by the care and control which the Mauryan state bestowed on it. Foreign trade seems to have been spiralling upwardly. This prosperity and the resulting tendency for urban ways of life opened new dimensions of culture.

In the field of art also the period had its own distinguishing marks. It had the pioneering role of introducing permanent material for art activities. What seems to have been mostly a court activity in the beginning was gradually taken over by other sections of society. We can notice the role of the emerging 'middle class' in the expansion of art activities in the later part of the period.

In all spheres of life in the period we feel the presence of foreign people. In the Mauryan period we have traces of Achaemenid influence. This could have been the result of the Achaemenid elements surviving in the north-west. It could as well have come through the Hellenic and Hellenistic influences. The cultural contact grew with the support of politics, trade and religion. The number of Greeks or Indo-Greeks in India increased with the establishment of the political power of the Indo-Bactrian kings. This gives the history of the period and its socio-cultural life a significant character.

A natural question arises as to how the developments in material culture in the period were conditioned by the momentous changes which occurred in the other spheres of life and polity. We would like to know how the Buddhist social values and the reformulated Brahmanical system influenced the fashions for dress and decoration, how far they were determined by the economic prosperity and urbanism, and the extent to which they were affected by the state policy of control, regulation and standardisation. Among all these questions the most important one will be about the elements which were introduced in imitation of Greek practices. It is not that answers to all these and other similar questions are always available, but they must be present before the enquiring researcher.

The period selected is rich in source material which enables us to formulate the patterns of life with fuller details. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is unique for its precise and minute details even of matters of a specialised nature. The *dharma-sūtras*, though their beginning is placed a little earlier than our period, are mostly co-terminus with the first half of this period. The classical text of Manu, composed towards the close of this period, reflects the realities and was intended to regulate them. The *Mahābhārata* text is taken to have received valuable additions radically transforming its original nature and contents. The *Mahābhāshya* on the *Ashṭādhyāyī* is a store-house of very significant details about the current practices.

Much of the early Canonical literature of the Buddhists and Jainas alike is generally taken by scholars to refer to this period. The regulations about the permissible as well as prohibited items of dress and decoration hold a very faithful mirror to the realities of those times.

There are some literary texts, such as the drama pieces of Bhāsa, which are placed by competent scholars in this period. Some other texts, such as the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Mudrārākshasa* and *Aśokāvadāna*, relate to the events occurring in this period. In this connection a problem of methodology crops up: to what extent the literary texts mirror the conditions of the period described by them. The author may have had his literary conventions and social types to honour. We have to contemplate the degree of success he could achieve in transcending the covering of the realities of his own times to present the practices obtaining in an earlier period.

The surviving fragments of the *Indica* written by Megasthenes provide details which serve as a mirror to reflect realities as viewed by a foreigner belonging to a country equally developed culturally.

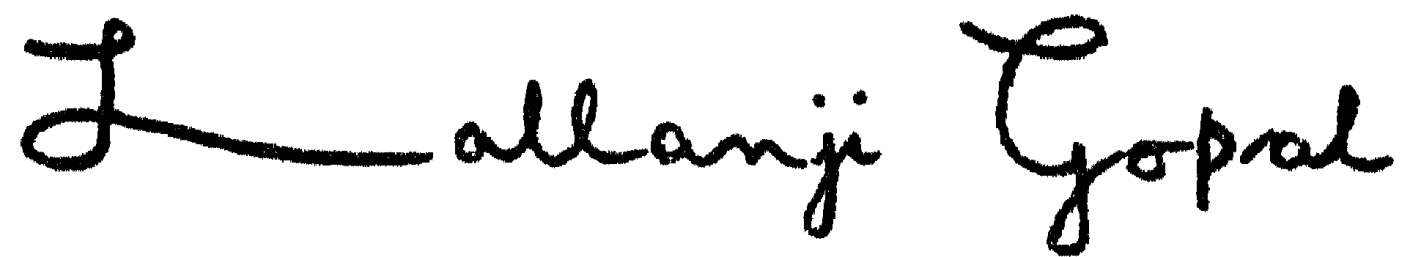
The numismatic and epigraphic evidence is not of much consequence for the present study. The inscriptions of Aśoka, though of great value for the contemporary social life, do not contain any significant reference to the costume and ornaments of the people.

The richest information is to be found in the art of the period. The *stūpas* of the period are bedecked with sculptures. The sculptural translations of *Jātaka* stories pose the same problem as we face in the case of the literary texts. Are the representations faithful to the period of the composition of the *Jātaka* stories? Those aspects, which relate to the very plot of the story, may maintain relevance for the original period of the story, but the subsidiary details have a tendency to be projected through the spectrum of the realities in the period when the art objects were created. In this we may allow scope for the pursuit of art conventions and for the play of the sculptor's imagination. The terracotta figurines of the period provide us with the richest and most authentic fund of information. They are closest to the real life and society. Even making allowance for the details introduced or inflated by the fancy of the potter-artist, we know that the figurines belong to the society of their own times and region. They are not like the individual portraits snapped by a photographer. But, they are definitely the presentation of real social types as viewed by their creators. The details of dress and costume associated with the figurines can be taken to be faithful in reflecting the realities, with due margin being given to the artist's fancy in adding elements of ornamentation and elaboration.

The present work has been done under the able supervision of my worthy colleague Dr. Prithvi Kumar Agrawala, who, through his several research studies, has established his own distinct individuality in terms of his approach to cultural

studies and the handling of problems of art history. Dr. Agrawala has directed his student to cast her net wide to collect relevant information from diverse sources and to reconstruct a meaningful pattern of the dress and decoration habits of people in a very significant and formative period of Indian history. I am sure the monograph will bring well deserved glory to the researcher to sustain her interest for further probings in the rich material culture of India which often fails to receive from the scholars its due importance in the totality of Indian culture.

Varanasi
July 29, 1988

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Mallanji Gopal". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial 'M'.

M. A. D. Phil (Allahabad)
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Preface

The purpose of my work is to present a comprehensive picture of some aspects of 'Dress and Ornaments during the Maurya and Śuṅga periods.' The importance of dress, head-dress and ornaments was realized from the very early period. Dress and Ornaments as known from literature and art are the important factors for the study of cultural and social history of a particular period. I have tried to correlate both the archaeological and literary evidences of the periods under study. Head-dress is also a main item of personal adornment. Thus the study is compiled in three parts viz Dress, Head dress and Ornaments. Moreover an attempt has been made to show the development in fashion of dress, head-dress and ornaments from the Mauryan period to Śuṅga period.

I have included some photographs and useful line-drawings to show the actual representation of several types of dress, head-dress and ornaments.

This work is substantially the thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy completed in 1983. The research work was carried out under the able guidance and supervision of Dr. P. K. Agrawala, Reader in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. He always gave me suitable suggestions with sympathetic treatment and good behaviour. I am extremely thankful and obliged to him. I can not forget to express my gratitude to Dr. T. N. Roy of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology in B. H. U., who advised and inspired me to work on this topic and gave his guidance at the initial stage of the work. I am also thankful to Dr. M. S. Shukla who also gave me suggestions.

I express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal who always inspired and often helped me with his valuable suggestions in carrying out this work. I am also obliged and thankful to Prof. Dr. K. K. Sinha and Prof. Dr. L. K. Tripathi and Dr. T. P. Varma of the Department for their suggestions from time to time. I am also grateful to Mr. Nambiar, Asstt. Director (Admn) and other authorities of American Institute of Indian Studies, Ramnagar for providing the valuable photographs for my work.

I am thankful to Mr. H. N. Mishra, of English Deptt., B. H. U. who has taken pains in going through my thesis thoroughly.

I am highly grateful to my father Sri. S. N. Lal, an Educationist who inspired me and provided facilities to carry out the research work.

I am thankful to my husband Mr. A. K. Verma for his kindness and co-operation in the publication of this book. I would like to place on record my gratitude to all my family members for their kindness.

I express my appreciation to the kindness of Mr. Digvijay Singh, Publisher, Indological Book House, Varanasi, who took interest in the publication of my work and also of the Proprietor, Ratna Press for his co-operation in the printing and in making beautiful get-up for the book in a very limited time.

In the end, I am thankful to many others for their direct and indirect help and suggestions but whose names could not find place here.

Inspite of my best efforts to be uniform in the use of diacritical marks, I beg indulgence of the readers for the errors of omission and for printing mistakes, if any.

For improvement, revision and call attention to the errors, I seek valuable advice and suggestions from the readers for the next edition.

C. 27/111 – I, Jagatj Ganj
VARANASI.
July, 1988

Mohini Verma

Abbreviations

A. I. A.	<i>The Art of Indian Asia</i> , Zimmer.
A. I. U.	<i>The Age of Imperial Unity</i> , R. C. Majumdar.
A. I. D. M. A.	<i>Ancient India Described by Megasthenese and Arrian</i> , Mc. Crindle.
A. N. M.	<i>Age of the Nandas and Mauryas</i> , Nilkanta Sastri.
<i>Indian Sculpture</i>	<i>Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art</i> , Stella Kramrisch.
A. S. M. G. M.	<i>Amarāvati Sculptures in Madras Government Museum</i> , C. Sivaramamurti.
A. S. S. I.	<i>Archaeological Survey of Southern India</i> .
A. S. W. I.	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India</i> .
<i>Bharhut</i>	<i>The Stupa of Bharhut</i> , A. Cunningham.
B. M. K.	<i>Bhāratiya Mr̥ttikā Kalā</i> , S. C. Kala.
<i>Bodhgayā</i>	<i>La Sculpture De Bodhgayā</i> , B. N. Barua.
<i>Buddhist cave Temple</i>	<i>Report on the Buddhist Cave Temple and their Inscription</i> , James Baggess.
C. P. A.	<i>Cave Paintings of Ajanta</i> , Madanjeet Singh.
E. H. I.	<i>Elements of Hindu Iconography</i> , Gopinath Rao.
E. I. B.	<i>Early Indian Bronzes</i> , P. K. Agrawala.
E. I. E. H.	<i>Early Indian Economic History</i> , Saletore.
E. I. M. G. V. D.	"Early Indian Mother Goddess Votive Discs", P. K. Agrawala, <i>East to West</i> , Rome.
E. I. S.	<i>Early Indian Sculpture</i> , L. Bachhofer.
G. V. T. A.	<i>Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art</i> , P. L. Gupta.
H. I. I. A.	<i>History of Indian and Indonesian Art</i> , A. K. Coomaraswamy.
H. S. A. I.	<i>Hair Styles in Ancient India</i> , K. Krishnamurti.
I. A. R.	<i>Indian Archaeology. A Review</i> .
I. C. C. O.	<i>Indian Costume, Coiffure and Ornament</i> , S. Sahay.
I. D. M.	<i>India as Described by Manu</i> , V. S. Agrawala.
I. J. O. D. D.	<i>Indian Jewellery, Ornaments and Decorative Designs</i> , Jamila Brij Bhushan.
I. K. P.	<i>India as known to Pāṇinī</i> , V. S. Agrawala.
J. B. O. R. S.	<i>Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> , Patna.
J. I. S. O. A.	<i>Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art</i> , Calcutta.
J. U. P. H. S.	<i>Journal of U. P. Historical Society</i> , Lucknow.

- K. A. (i) *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, R. Shamasastri.
(ii) *The Kauṭilya Arthasastra*, Kangle.
- L. A. U. *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha*, N. P. Joshi,
- M. A. S. I. *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*.
Mirrors of Indian Culture Sanskrita, Literature and art : Mirrors of Indian Culture, C. Sivaramamurti,
M. A. S. I. no. 73.
- M. M. C. *Mathura Museum Catalogue* Pt. IV, V. S. Agrawala.
- P. B. V. B. *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśa Bhūsha*, Moti Chandra.
- P. K. B. *Patañjali Kālina Bharata*, P. D. Agnihotri.
- P. W. H. C. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Altekar.
- P. M. C. A. *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, P. L. Gupta.
- R. I. A. *The Roots of Indian Art*, S. P. Gupta.
- Sāñchī* *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Marshall and Foucher, San.
- S. B. E. *Sacred Books of the East*, Max Muller (Ed.).
- S. I. A. *Studies in Indian Art*, V. S. Agrawala.
- Śrīvatsa* *Śrīvatsa, The Babe of Goddess Sṛī*, P. K. Agrawala.
- S. S. A. M. *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Promod Chandra.
- S. S. P. W. M. *Stone Sculpture in the Prince of Wales Museum*, Moti Chandra.
- T. A. M. *Terracottas in the Allahabad Museum*, S. C. Kala.
- T. S. W. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, James Ferguson.
- Vedic Index*, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* Mac donell and Keith.

Contents

	<i>Pages</i>
Foreword	iii-vi
Preface	vii-viii
Abbreviations	ix-x
Introduction	1-10

PART I : DRESS

Chapter I : <i>Cloth and Clothes : An Introduction</i>	11-35
---	-------

Clothing material : Cotton, Silk, Wool, Skin, Textile Industry, Name of cloths, Indian Muslin in the Roman empire, Imported cloths; Weaving, Technical terms connected with weaving, cutting, sewing and embroidering : Needle, Scissor, Thimble, Frame, Dyeing, Laundering, Various types of garments : Uttariya and Antariya, Āpradadina, Ardhoruka, Chaṇḍātaka, Nīvi, Paṭakā, Kañchuka, Vārabāṇa, Chīnacholoka, Kūrpāsaka, Āchchhādanaka, Pravāra, Brihatikā, Ushṇisha, Oḍhanī, Shoes, Garments of Bhikshus and Bhikshunis, Dress of Brahmanas and Shramaṇas, Dress of Jain Sadhus, Dress of lay people, Fashionable ways of wearing the dhoti and kamarabandha, Dress of kings and queens, Dress of hunters, Dress of soldiers.

Chapter II : <i>Male Garments</i>	36-50
--	-------

Male Garment in the Mauryan period; Lower garments, Upper garments, Śuṅga period : Lower garments, Kamarbanda or Phenṭā, Upper garments, Sewn garments, Shoes.

Chapter III : <i>Female Garments</i>	51-61
---	-------

Female garments in the Mauryan period; Female garments in the Śuṅga period : Lower garments, Kamarbandha or belt, Paṭakā, Skirt, Upper garment, Dress of a terracotta figurine, Dress of religious women.

PART II : HEAD-DRESS

Chapter IV : <i>Head-dress : An Introduction</i>	62-69
---	-------

Comb and oil, Mirror, Barber, Scissor, Dyeing of hair, Śimanta, Some types of Coiffure : Long hair, Short hair, Shaven head, Curly hair, Venī, Pravenī, Ekavenī, Keśapāsa, Kabaribandha, Śikhaṇḍa, Dhammila, Jaṭābhāra and Jaṭājūṭa, Kākapaksha, Decoration of head with Jewels, Ornaments and Garland, Headgear; Ushṇisha, Tiara or Mukuṭa, Veil, Coif, Head dress of male, Head-dress of female, Head-dress of the king and Queen, Head-dress of Brahmana, Sadhus and Bhikshus.

Chapter V : Male Head-Dress and Coiffure 70-78

Mauryan Period, Śuṅga Period, Ushṇīsha, Cap, Crown, Coiffure, Curly hair, Śikhaṇḍa, Lalāṭajūṭaka, Jaṭābhāra, Mayurātapatra-Śekhara.

Chapter VI : Female Head-Dress and Coiffure 79 90

Mauryan Period : Orhani, Turban, Head dress consisting rosettes, Coiffure, Śuṅga Period : Veil, Oḍhani. Coif, Cap, Helmet, Turban, Some varieties of head-dresses depicted in terracottas, Other Coiffurs.

PART III : ORNAMENT**Chapter VII : Jewellery and Ornaments : An Introduction** 91-109

Pearls, Gems, Diamond, Coral. Gold, Touch Stone, Silver, Suvarṇa-kāra, Manikāra, Manufacturing Processes, Weighing balance, Colouring of gold, Exports and Imports of Ornamental Material, Decorative pattern used in Ornaments. Beads used as Ornaments, Various types of pearls string (Yashṭi), Head and Forehead Ornament, Ear Ornament, Neck Ornament, Hand Ornament, Waist-Ornament, Leg Ornament, Excellent qualities of Ornaments, Garland.

Chapter VIII : Various Types of Male and Female Ornaments 110-132

Mauryan Period : Head Ornament, Ear Ornament, Neck-ornament, Waist Ornament, Arm Ornament, Foot Ornament, Śuṅga Period : Head Ornament, Ear Ornament, Neck Ornament, Vaikakshyaka hāra, Chhanna-vīra, Arm Ornament, Waist Ornament, Foot Ornament.

Conclusion :	133-138
Bibliography :	139-144
List of Figures :	145-151
List of Illustration :	152-153
Word Index :	154-161

Introduction

The period under study is of very great importance in the political and cultural history of India. Under the Mauryas, India for the first time became politically united. In the sixth century B.C. the centre of gravity had shifted to the east. The Madhyadeśa had become the centre of the Aryan world; and Magadha gradually developing into a large empire. In this period, there were sixteen Mahājanapadas, but only two Kamboja and Gandhāra were in the outlying tracts. The state of Madra in the Punjab was not included in Mahājanapadas. At the beginning of fourth century B.C. the valley of the Indus did not know political unity. The rest of northern India had found unity and strength under the power of the Nandas of Magadha. During 600 B.C. to 400 B.C. the Persians ruled in north-western India. The long association between India and Persia naturally left some impressions on Indian history and culture. There is some Persian influence on the Aśoka's edicts in certain words used therein.¹

The Persian empire was weak and was invaded by Alexander who in May 326 B.C. crossed the Indus river and entered Taxila. There he was welcomed by then King Āmbhī. Alexander then marched eastward and came to the bank of the river Jhelum, where he encountered a determined opposition from Porus. Porus fought against the Greeks very bravely. After this battle, the army of the Greeks refused to proceed further. Then Alexander decided to return. Alexander indirectly contributed to the growth of Indian unity and the extension of Mauryan empire due to the weakness of the states in the Punjab.

Chandragupta was the founder of the Mauryan Empire. He came in contact of Kauṭilya, who was insulted by the last Nanda King. Chandragupta not only seized the throne of Magadha, but also freed the north-west from the last vestiges of foreign rule and brought it under his sway. His empire extended as far as the Hindukush in the west till 305 B.C. After Chandragupta, his son Bindusāra became the king of Magadha about 300 B.C. Bindusāra maintained friendly relations with the Greek states. After Bindusāra, Aśoka succeeded the throne. In the ninth year after his coronation, he effected the conquest of Kalinga (Orissa and Ganjam). This war moved him greatly as he became at once a lay disciple of the Buddhist order. One war was enough to turn his mind for ever against the use of arms and convince him that the true conquest was that of Love of Dharma. Aśoka is one of the greatest kings in the world history. He is a unique example of a supreme and active humanist on the throne.

1. N. K. Sinha & A. C. Banerjee, *History of India*, p. 69.

The inscriptions of Aśoka enables us to obtain a more precise and definite idea of the extent of Aśoka Empire. In northwest his empire was extended to Mānsehrā and Shahbāzgarhi in western Panjab, in Uttar Pradesh upto Kalsi, upto Dauli and Jaugada in orissa and upto Yerragudi in Kurnool District of Madras¹ In south, his empire is indicated by three groups of minor edicts in Chitaldroog District of Mysore.² The whole empire was divided into a number of provinces under Governors or Princes acting as Viceroys namely, Kauśāmbī, Ujjayini (Ujjain), Taxila and Suvarṇagiri.

In the age of the Mauryas, India was in active contact with Western Asia and Mediterranean world, which were experiencing great economic and political revolution.³ The Greek writers and Kauṭilya give full details of civilization of the Indians of this period. During this period trade and industry were very advanced. Merchants were organised in guilds (Saṅghas and Sreṇis). They were self regulating groups. Artisans and craftsmen were specially protected by the state. Trade with foreign countries by land and sea was regulated by means of ordinances and passports. India supplied the western countries, Syria and Egypt in particular, with indigo and various spices like pepper, nard, costume, malabathrum, some rare woods, various medicinal substances and cotton and silk.⁴

The art of the Mauryan period also progressed greatly. The art of Aśoka's time is best represented by the monolithic pillars of polished sandstone. Some of them carry the inscriptions. The most beautiful of these is the Sarnath pillar. The stone was procured invariably from a quarry near Chunar. During this period, the Yakshas and Yakshini statues were also made. The rock cut caves were also excavated at Barābara and Nāgargunī hills near Gaya.

The Mauryan Empire lost its unity and strength soon after the death of Aśoka. After Aśoka's death the Mauryan Empire dragged on for half a century. The last Mauryan King was Brihadratha who was succeeded by Pushyamitra Śūṅga about 185 B.C. According to the Puranas, the Śūṅgas, Kaṇvas and Āndhras were the successors of the Mauryas.⁵ Pushyamitra who was 'Senāpatī' or 'Commander-in-Chief' of Brihadratha, slew his king and captured the throne. According to Pāṇini the Śūṅgas were Brahmins of the Bharadvaja gotra.⁶ Pushyamitra ruled in the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhya, and Vidiśā. After succeeding the throne he came in conflict with the Indo-Greeks. At the river of Sindhu, Vasumitra defeated the Greeks. The number of Śūṅga kings was ten and they ruled over the Magadha Empire for a period of 112 years from 187 B.C. to 75 B.C.

1. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., p. 77.

2. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., p. 77.

3. N. K. Sastri, *History of India*, Pt. I, Ancient India, p. 75.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

5. N. K. Sastri, *History of India*, Pt. I, Ancient India, p. 97. *Ibid*, p. 97.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

The history of Śuṅga Dynasty is not much known, but they played an important role in Indian History. They had military power and faced the Greek invasion and maintained their authority over a large part of the empire. Vidiśā was the chief seat of their power. Pushyamitra led a Brahmanical revival against Buddhism and Yavana culture which by this time engulfed the whole of North-West and Western India. But it is a fact that he did not destroy Buddhism and Jainism. The famous Stupas of Bharhut and Sāñchī testify to the unhampered activities of the Buddhists. Dr. R. K. Mookerji¹ rightly remarked that “neither Buddhism nor Jainism eclipsed, for some magnificent Buddhist and Jain movements were erected in the kingdom of the Śuṅgas”. Mathura appears to be an important centre of Jainism during this period.

The Śuṅga period ushered a new age in art and architecture. In the Mauryan period mainly animal figures were made but in the Śuṅga period human figures became significant. Now, the stone was used widely. According to Prof. N. R. Ray, “Mauryan Court art was foiled to make any notable permanent contribution to the growth of Indian art except that it directly helped the fixation of the latter in permanent material.”² He further argued that Mauryan court art was individualistic in its essential character and ideology. There was no collective social will behind it. Therefore, this Mauryan art proved to be of temporary nature.³ It did not last long. In the art of Śuṅgas human form plays an important role. The art of this period shows the social content, its direction is more collective than individual. Dr. B. C. Sinha writes, “Mauryan art was international in outlook while the Śuṅga art is national in outlook and popular in character. This art is of a people and for the people.”⁴ It represents the tradition of a people to whom it belongs. N. R. Ray says, “Śuṅga art is thus the first organised and integrated art activity of the Indian people as a whole and stands directly counter-posed to the court art of the Mauryas.”⁵

The terracotta art was also very developed. In the protohistoric period the hand modelled figures were made but in the late Mauryan or early Śuṅga period the moulded figures were started to be made for the first time. In the words of Dr. V. S. Agrawala,⁶ “the clay figurines of the historical period although separated from those of the Indus valley by an interval of about twenty centuries, nevertheless show links of style and subject matter. On the technical side the earliest figurines from Pāṭaliputra, Ahichchhatra, and Mathura are all hand modelled like

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1. R. K. Mookerji, *The Culture and Art of India*, p. 128.
 2. N. R. Ray, *Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, p. 59.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
 4. B. C. Sinha, *History of the Śuṅga Dynasty*, p. 150.
 5. N. R. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 309.

those of Indus valley. The use of mould appears for the first time in the late Maurya or early Śuṅga period about the third-second century B.C." Mathura was an important centre of terracotta art. Ancient Vaisali (Basarh), Kosam, Ahichchhatra, Rajghat, Bhita and Pāṭaliputra were also centres of Śuṅga terracottas.

The Mauryan Empire was in constant touch with the foreign states. The age of Mauryas was followed by the age of the Śuṅgas in the north and the age of Andhras in the south. Trade was carried on with China and Rome. The various professions mentioned by Manu, reveal the highly civilized life of the time. Patañjali provides a faithful picture of the contemporary social life of his time. One most important feature of this period was the influx of foreigners and their assimilation into the Hindu social order.¹ Caste rules were relaxed due to this cause. So Patañjali felt the necessity of preserving the purity of the Brahmanas. The reliefs of Bharhut and Sāñchī provide an illuminating commentary on the contemporary social life.

History generally deals with the heroic achievements and administration of the kings, the rise and fall of states and social and economical life of the state. For a full picture of Indian culture it is necessary to study minutely its physical components, therefore, it is necessary to deal with the history of Dress and Ornaments which are important factors of cultural life. The aim of present research project is to throw some light on the 'Dress and Ornaments of the Maurya and Śuṅga periods'. The history of Dress including head-dresses and Ornaments reveals the social and economical conditions of that period and also reveals the people's love for beauty. 'Dress is an important adjunct of personality' and it is said that 'God makes and apparel shapes'. It is true that 'Dress and Ornaments are the mirror of the society'.

Dr. Coomaraswamy, Prof. V. S. Agrawala, Sri Sivaramamurti and Dr. Motichandra are the pioneers in the field of the cultural study. Dr. V. S. Agrawala's work on the *Harshacharita* and on the *Ashṭādhyāyī* and Dr. Sivaramamurti's work on the *Amarāvati sculpture and his Mirrors of Indian Culture* are the pioneer work opening the field of cultural study. Dr. Motichandra has done a particular work on the costumes. Dr. G. S. Ghurye also has studied the costumes. Dr. R. Govind Chandra and Dr. Jamila Brij Bhushana have studied the jewellery. There are also some works and papers on the Dress, Head-Dresses and Ornaments by other authors e.g. Dr. N. P. Joshi, Dr. S. Sahay and Dr. Krishnamurti. But the period and area of their study are too vast and comprehensive. So I have chosen a limited area of study concerning the Mauryan and Śuṅgas times, which are very important periods from the points of view of political and cultural history.

The Dress and Ornaments of the people very largely depend upon the climate of country, the products of its industries and the nature of its customs.

1. B. C. Sinha, *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

The climate of the country plays an important role in the nature and mode of wearing the costume and coiffure. The person belonging to hot climate wears the thin and light clothes while a person belonging to cold country wears thick and heavy clothes. India is a tropical country so the people of this country wear both thin and heavy clothes, because in such countries, some part of the year is cold while the other part is hot.

Natural resources are also very significant for the cloths and ornaments. Therefore, in the place, where gold, silver are more available, people wear the ornaments of gold and silver and if gems and pearls are more available, the people use gems and pearls more. Similarly, the people use various materials for clothing, e.g. cotton fabric was produced abundantly in India, so the people used more cotton fabrics.

Psychological factors play also a role in the mode and nature of dress. The neck ornaments were worn probably to purify the heart or to drive away the demonic effects. Even now in north eastern India children wear amulets in the form of necklaces to protect themselves from the anger of super-natural elements. Thus the ear ornament was worn with a view to checking one-self from hearing evil things. It is a symbol that the wearing person does not hear the evils. The armlets and bracelets are the symbols of sovereignty. The finger rings of *asṭadhātus* and of precious stones are worn to protect ourselves from the bad effects of the stars. There are also some religious significances behind their use. For a Hindu married woman, it is necessary to wear the bangles. Head ornaments are the mark of dignity and superiority.

Economic factor is also important for the dress and ornaments. The poor persons wear the simple clothes made up of cheap material and the rich persons wear the dress and ornament very decorative and made of costly materials.

The history of Dress and Ornaments is as old as the history of men. They are the index of human culture. In the hunting stage, the people wore the skins of animals, leaves and barks. For ornaments, the pre-historic men adorned their body with animal claws and bones, flowers, fruit-seeds and leaves. They used the fibre of plants to hang the claws, bones and leaves. Then they discovered the use of clay which could easily be moulded and given a shape. Further, they started using different types of precious stones, gold, silver etc.

The literary sources which are utilised in the study are mentioned here :—

1. *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī*—The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* composed by pāṇini is the Sanskrita grammar. The principal aim of the work is to describe the *bhasha* or the current medium of expression. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consists of 4,000 sutras, divided as the title suggests, into eight chapters. There is doubt about the time of Pāṇini

and has been variously estimated between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C.¹ It is known that he was later than Yāska and earlier than Patañjali and Katyāyana.

2. *Vārttika of Kātyāyana*—The date of Kātyāyana is known as 300 B.C.² In Vārttika occurs some forms recorded by Pāṇini and some new forms that had come into vogue. The object of his work was to discuss and support the sutras of Pāṇini and also to correct and supplement them wherever necessary.

3. *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*—Kauṭilya (Chāṇakya or Vishnugupta) was the minister of the king Chandragupta Maurya who became King in 321 B.C. It is believed that Kauṭilya lived and wrote his famous work between 321 B.C. and 300 B.C.³ The work is divided into 15 adhikaraṇas with 180 prakaraṇas. It is also divided into adhyayas. Though the style of Arthaśāstra is simple, but the presence of many technical terms in it renders the work at times difficult to understand. R. Shamasastri first edited the Arthaśāstra in 1907 and he gave its English translation in 1915.

4. *Patañjali's Mahābhāshya*—Kātyāyana was followed by Patañjali. Max Muller suggested 200 B.C. as the probable date of Patañjali. Keith suggested 150 B.C. as the date for Patañjali.⁴ Patanjali is usually regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra.⁵ His *Mahābhāshya* is more extensive work explaining and sometimes supplementing the Pāṇini's sutras. Patañjali has also added some new sutras. The *Mahābhāshya* is the earliest specimen of commentary.⁶ The *Mahābhāshya* is a good source of information for the social, religious, literary and political history of India.

5. *Manu-Smṛiti*—The date of *Manu-smṛiti* is taken to be between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. It is also known as 'Mānava-dharmashāstra'. The scope of the *manu-smṛiti* extends over the whole human activity, social relations and duties of the man and woman. The *manu-smṛiti* has determined the manner and mode of Indian life. 'In Manu we have the soul reflected of a great section of the People'.⁷

6. *Dramas of Bhāsa*—There is controversy about the date of Bhāsa. Some authors take 100 B.C. and some as late as 200 A.D.⁸ The plays of Bhāsa are

1. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U. p. 268.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

3. R. Shamasastri, K. A. see preface.

4. B. C. Sinha, *Op. cit.* p. 21.

5. B. C. Sinha, *Op. cit.* p. 21.

6. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U. p. 269.

7. N. K. Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 257.

8. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., p. 261.

thirteen in number. All of them are preserved in tact. The most of the nāṭakas of Bhāsa are based on the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. The nāṭakas are written in Sanskrit language.

7. *Portions of Pāli-tripiṭaka*—The Pāli-tripiṭaka consists of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, *Sutta-Piṭaka* and *Abhidhammā Piṭaka*. The *Mahāvagga* and the *Chullavagga* are the parts of the Vinaya Piṭaka. The Mahāvagga has ten sections. There are the stories of the formation of Saṅgha, rules for the use of shoes, seats, dress, and medicine of the monks, and for the regulation of their religious proceedings. The *Mahāvagga* throws considerable light on the every-day life of Ancient India. The *Chullavagga* has 12 sections. The first nine sections contain rules for the Bhikshus while the tenth section describes the duties of nuns. The *Jātakas*, a portion of the *Sutta-Piṭaka* are the stories of the former life of Buddha. The *Jātakas*, more than 500 in number, are very varied in their character and furnish valuable material for the study of economic and social conditions of Buddha's time. The *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is later than the previous two. These Piṭakas are known to date from 500 B.C. to 100 B.C.¹

8. *Milinda-Pañha*—The *Milinda-Pañha* originated in North-West India about the beginning of the christian era. Probably it was written in Sanskrit or some North Indian Prakrit.² The original text is lost and the present work is a translation in pali of the original made at a very early date in Ceylon. King Milind was a Greek ruler, equated with Menander, who was a soldier as well as a scholar.³

9. *The Accounts of the Foreign-Writers*—There are some accounts of the foreign writers, Greeks, viz., Megasthenese, Diamechus, Polinius, Niyarchus, Diodorus etc. The Indika of Megasthenese is now available only in fragments preserved in citations by later writers; on the nature of these citations Schwanbeck who collected and annotated them observes, "Since Strabo, Arrain and Diodorus have directed their attention to relate nearly the same thing, it has resulted that the greatest part of Indikā has been completely lost, and that of many passages singularly enough, three epitomes are extant, to which occasionally a fourth is added by Plinius".⁴

Archaeological Sources

1. Inscriptions

There are mainly the Mauryan inscriptions of Aśoka :

(i) The Fourteen Rock—Edicts

(ii) The Minor Rock—Edicts

1. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., pp. 407-8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

4. N. K. Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II. p. 53

- (iii) Seven Pillar Edicts
- (iv) Four Minor Pillar Edicts
- (v) Barābar cave Inscriptions.
- (vi) Sahguarā and Mahasthana Inscriptions.

For the Śuṅga Period, we have many short inscriptions such as :

- (i) Ayodhya Stone Inscriptions of Dhānadeva.
- (ii) Hāthigumphā inscriptions of Khārvela.
- (iii) Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā inscriptions.
- (iv) Western-Indian Cave inscriptions.

2. *Coins*

Coins are also important for ancient Indian history and culture. There are some tribal and local coins belonging to the period under study.

3. *Sculptures*

Among archaeological sources the sculptures are most important for the study of Dress and Ornaments. There are many sculptures of the Maurya and Śuṅga Periods. The sculptures of the Mauryan period are few but the sculptures of the Śuṅga Period are preserved in great numbers. Most of the sculptures of the Mauryan period are of animals.

Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā and Mathura Schools

These are main centres of the Śuṅga sculptures. Bharhut was erected about the middle of 2nd cent. B.C. Cunningham discovered it in 1873 but by this time the body of Stupa had been destroyed. Some of the remaining sculptures of the Bharhut school are preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta and Allahabad Museum.

The Sāñchī Stupas were discovered by general Taylor in 1818. At this time, it was in good condition. "The history of Sanchi starts during the reign of Aśoka in the third century B.C., and covers a period of some thirteen centuries."¹ But most of the sculptures are of the Śuṅga Period.

Bodhgaya Stupa is of 100 or 50 B.C. There is a considerable variety in subjects depicted in these small medallions.

Mathura also was a flourishing centre of art in North India during the time of the Śuṅgas. The sculptures of the Mathura school are mainly deposited in the museums of Mathura and Lucknow.

1. Marshall, *A Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 7.

Some other Sculptures—Besides Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā and Mathura sculptures, there are some other sculptures from Saranath, Bhita, Kośam, Piprahwa, Patna, Pauni, Amin, Taxila, etc.

4. Cave, Chaityā & Vihāras

The Barābar and Nāgarjunī caves near Gaya were dedicated by Aśoka. The inner wall of all the caves are finely polished. The caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills near Bhuvaneshwara excavated by Kharavela, contain a number of sculptures. These caves are of the first century B.C. The Western Indian Chaityā and Vihara caves at Bhājā, Kondane, Pitalkhora and Ajantā (cave IX and X) also belong to the period under study.

5. Paintings

The wall paintings of Ajantā cave nos. IX & X are of the Śuṅga Period. The paintings of the Sita Bengi caves in Sarguja were also there but only a couple of specimens are preserved now.¹

6. Terracottas

Terracottas are also an important source of the present study. Mathura, Kauśāmbī, Rājghat, Ahichhatra and Patna are main centres of terracotta figurines. Taxila, Buxar, Sarnath, Vaiśālī, Bangarh, Mahāsthān, Tamluk, Chandraketugarh, etc. have also yielded clay figurines. In the early stages of Indian Archaeological studies no attention was paid to terracottas. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Prof. V. S. Agrawala are true pioneers of this subject.

In the pre Mauryan period the modelled terracotta figurines were in vogue but the moulding of the terracottas was started in late Maurya and Śuṅga periods.

The present work is compiled into three parts i.e. Dress, Head-dresses and Ornaments. The parts are divided into chapters. Textile industry was one of the most important industries. Cotton, Silken and woollen cloths were made and used. Besides these, skins and 'valkals' were also worn. Cotton was the most productive material. Banaras was famous for its cloth. Madhurā, Vaṅga, Vatsa, Mahisha etc. are the sources of finest cotton fabrics. Kāśī and Puṇḍra produced 'kshauma' cloth. 'Patrora' was produced in Magadha, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya. Silken cloth was made in India and exported to foreign countries. But the silken cloth was also imported from China. The arts of cutting, sewing embroidering, and laundering were well advanced.

Men generally used two pieces of cloth, one for lower part of body and the other for upper part of body. Dhotī was a very popular garment and was worn

1. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U. p. 5.

around the waist. For the upper part of body, they used another piece of cloth, which is known as 'Dupatṭā' or 'Uttariya'. In the Śuṅga period, various modes of the garments are seen in sculptures. Sewn garments were also worn

The females also wore dhoti as a lower garment. There was no major difference between the male and female styles of dhoti. Generally the maidens wore skirt or petticoat. A scarf or dupatṭā was used to cover the upper part of body. The shoes were also worn by male and females.

Head-dress and coiffure were also popular both with men and women. The hair was combed and oiled. Men generally used the ushṇisha and women used veil or odhani. The Women took more care in hair-dressing. The appearance and attractiveness of women in that period depended much on their hair-styles.

The art of jewellery and lapidary was also very well developed. The ornaments were worn of gold, silver, copper, ivory, and beads of semi precious and precious stones. Necklaces, ear-rings, bangles were worn by man and women both but the fore-head ornaments, waist ornament and leg ornament were worn by females only. Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kauṭilya have referred to various types of ornaments. Waist ornament was the main ornament of the females. It was a symbol of the motherhood. There were several varieties of hāras (necklaces) of pearls, gems, and gold which were worn in the head-neck, hand and waist.

CHAPTER I

Cloth and Clothes : An Introduction

The most common word used for garment is 'Vāsas'. In the Vedic literature 'vasana'¹ expresses the same meaning of garment in general. Pāṇini mentions three new words,² viz. 'chīra'³ 'chela'⁴ and 'chīvara'.⁵ Dr. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted these words as follows : "In the sutra 'chela knopeh', 'chela' denotes a garment worn on the body. 'Chīvara' is frequently used in Buddhist books for a monks robe".⁶ 'Chela' may be cloth or clothe. But 'chīra' is the cloth, not very lengthy and fragmented.⁷ The word 'āchchhādana'⁸ is also used in the sense of a clothing. In the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, it denotes the garments of 'prāvāra'⁹ and 'brihatikā'.¹⁰ It is more frequently used in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* than any other words for clothing.

Clothing Material

There were known various types of clothing materials which are given below :

1. *Cotton* (Kārpāsa) : The word 'Kārpāsa' is not mentioned in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* but the word 'tula'¹¹ is referred to in a compound like 'ishikā-tula'. Probably the word 'tula' occurs in the sense of 'karpasa'.¹² Patañjali mentions 'pichavya' for 'kārpāsa'.¹³ In the *Jātakas*,¹⁴ Karpasa is mentioned many times. According to the *Tuṇḍrila Jātaka*,¹⁵ there were cotton fields (kappāsakhetta) in the

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1. *Ṛig-Veda* I. 26.1.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P. p. 127.
 3. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI, 2.127.
 4. *Ibid.*, II. 4.33.
 5. *Ibid.*, II. 1.20.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 127.
 7. P. D. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 197
 8. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 127.
 9. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, III. 3.54.
 10. *Mahābhāshya*, V. 4 6.
 11. *Ashṭādhyāyī* III. 1.25; *Mahābhāshya*, III. 6.4
 12. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 128.
 13. P. D. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 197.
 14. *Jātaka* VI, p. 47; refer Motichandra, P. B. V. B., p. 27.
 15. *Jātaka*, III. p. 286; *Ibid.*, p. 27.

neighbourhood of Banaras. The women looked after the proper upkeep of such fields and were known as 'keepers of cotton field' (kappāsarakkhikā) as mentioned in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*.¹ The cotton cloth (kārpāsaka) manufactured in Madhura (Southern Madurai), Aparāntakam (North Konkanā), Kaliṅga (south Orissa), Kāśī (Banaras), Vaṅga (West Bengal), Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) and Mahisha (Mahishmati on the Narmada) was the best.² Kāśī was most famous for its cotton cloth. During these times, there was great demand of cotton for manufacturing cloth. The Greeks did not know how the cotton was produced and they thought it to be the wool growing on trees.³ The country known as 'Kārpāsikā' is mentioned in the *Sabhāparva*⁴ which indicates that cotton was grown there abundantly. Unfortunately, the country has not been identified as yet.

2. *Linen* : The cloth made by the flax and hemp is known as linen. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the King Janaka gave his daughter linen garments in the kanyādhana of her wedding.⁵ Pāṇini has also referred to the word 'auma' and 'aumaka'⁶ for linen. In Buddhist literature, 'kshauma' was used for cloths.⁷ In the *Mahāvagga*, Buddha has ordained the bhikshus to make 'chīvara' of 'kshauma'.⁸ In the Jaina *Āchārāṅga sūtra*,⁹ the making of 'kshauma chīvara' is permitted for monks. In the same text, 'kshauma' is mentioned in a list of costly cloths,¹⁰ which the commentator Silanka has said to be a common fibre. According to Dr. Moti Chandra,¹¹ this interpretation is wrong because 'kshauma' is not mentioned anywhere for the cotton cloth. Probably the coarse fibre was used by the Jaina sādhus and the fine fibre was not used by them. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there are many references of 'kshauma.' The mother of Rāma wears the kshauma clothes (kshauma-vāsasa).¹² In the *Mahāvagga*,¹³ it is also mentioned that the blankets were made from 'kshauma' and wool. Five hundred blankets of this material were presented by the King of Kāśī to Jivaka Kumārabhṛitya who in his turn presented them to Buddha.¹⁴ In the *Arthaśāstra*, 'dukūla' and 'kshauma' both are mentioned. 'Dukūla' was also a

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1. *Ibid.*, VI. p. 336; *Ibid.*
 2. R. N. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 265.
 3. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 16.
 4. *Mahābhārata*, II. 51.8.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 16.
 5. Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India*, p. 142.
 6. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3.157.
 7. *Jātaka*, Vol. VI. p. 47. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 28.
 8. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 3. 36; *Ibid.*
 9. *Āchārāṅga sūtra*, 1.7.4.1.; 2.5.1.1.; *Ibid.* p. 28
 10. *Ibid.* 2.5.1.4.; *Ibid.*
 11. Moti Chandra, P.B.V.B., p. 28
 12. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 8.7.
 13. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 11.
 14. *Ibid.*

linen cloth and that which was produced in vaṅga was white and of soft fabric; that in Pāṇḍya, black and as soft as the surface of a gem, and that in Suvarṇa-kuḍya, was as red as the sum and as soft as the surface of a gem.¹ It was woven while the threads were very wet. It may be of uniform (chaturaśra) or mixed texture (vyamisravana).² There were many varieties of it according to its use³ :—

1. Amśuka—which has one thread in warp and weft each.
2. Adhyardhamśuka—which has one thread in warp and two in weft or vice-versa.
3. Dvayamśuka—which has two threads in warp and weft each.
4. Tryamśuka—which has three threads in warp and weft each.

According to the commentator, used by R. Shamasastri, 'dukūla' and 'kshauma' were the same thing, but 'dukūla' was a fine fabric and 'kshauma' a little coarse.⁴ But Moti Chandra is not in agreement with this interpretation.⁵

3. *Silk (Kauśeya)* : In the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, Pāṇini has given a sutra for 'kauśeya'.⁶ In the *Rāmāyana*⁷ and *Mahābhārata*⁸ the silks have been mentioned. According to Kātyāyana as interpreted by Prof. V. S. Agrawala, "Kauśeya is so called because it is produced from the cocoon, and though the silk worm is also a similar product, the word applies only to the silken cloth."⁹ The Buddhist literature¹⁰ also mentions 'kauseya'. In the *Mahāvagga*,¹¹ Buddha has permitted the monks to wear the silken cloth (kauśeya prāvāra). The Jain *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* does not mention 'kauśeya' but probably the word 'paṭṭa' in it indicates the silk.¹² In the same Jain Sūtra, 'Chīnāmśuya' (silk made in China) is referred to. In the *Lalitavistara*¹³ 'paṭolaka' or variegated silk also has been mentioned. In the *Mahābhārata*¹⁴ 'kīṭaja' is the word used for silk which was a product of China and Vālhika. Kauṭilya has referred to two types of silk :—(1) Kauśeya (ii) Chīnapaṭṭa. Probably

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1. R. Shamaśastri, K. A., p. 82.
 2. *Ibid.* p., 82.
 3. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 55.
 4. R. Shamasastri, K.A., p. 82.
 5. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B. p. 55.
 6. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3.42.
 7. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 265.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
 9. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 127
 10. *Jātaka*, IV. p. 47; Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 27.
 11. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1.36.
 12. *Āchārāṅga sūtra*, 2.5.1.4.
 13. *Lalita Vistara*, p. 113; refer Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 30
 14. *Mahābhārata*, II. 51.26

the word 'kauṣeya' in Sanskrita is derived from the town of kośa where it was manufactured.¹ Pāṇini gives special sutra for the formation of 'kauṣeya' (kośād-dhan),² which refers to the town of Kośa, while the Kātyāyana says the word 'kauṣeya' is derived from cocoon.³ Patañjali also says that 'kauṣeya' is derived from kṛimi-kośa.⁴ Chīna-paṭṭa is the silk which was produced in Chīna.⁵

Kauṭilya⁶ mentions four varieties of silken cloth, i.e. (i) yellow (pita) which was produced on Nāga-Vṛiksha (a species of tree), (ii) of the colour of wheat, was produced on Likucha (Artocarpus Likucha), (iii) white, which was produced on Vakula, and (iv) of the colour of butter which was produced on vaṭa (Ficus Indica). The fabrics produced in the Suvarṇakuḍya were the best.⁷ Dr. Moti Chandra explained these varieties under 'patroṇa'.⁸

4. *Wool* : Pāṇini has referred to the word 'aurṇa' and 'aurṇaka' for woollen fibres.⁹ In the Buddhist literature,¹⁰ the word 'kambala' is used for woollen fabrics. In the *Jātaka*,¹¹ the scarlet 'pāṇḍukambala' of Gandhāra is praised (indagopakavaṇṇabha Gandhārā pāṇḍu Kambala). In the *Mahāvagga*,¹² 'Siveyyakadussa' is praised. This was a shawl produced in the Sivi country.¹³ The word 'dussa' still lives in modern Hindi and Panjābi as 'dhussa', which is used for a particular type of woollen chadar.¹⁴ Another variety of woollen cloth was 'vāhītika',¹⁵ manufactured in the Vāhita country. This type of cloth was sent by Ajataśatru to Prasenajita, who in his turn offered it as present to Ānanda. This cloth measured sixteen hands in length and eight in width. Kauṭilya has given a detailed account of woollen cloths. The colour of blanket made of sheep's wool "may be white, purely red, or as red as a lotus flower."¹⁶

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1. Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 17
 2. V. S. Agrawala, I.K.P., p. 127; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 17
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 4. *Mahābhāṣya*, IV. 3.4.2.; Agnihotri, P.K.B., p. 196.
 5. R. Shamasastri, K.A., p. 83.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
 8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 55.
 9. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 3. 158; refer V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 127.
 10. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 3.1.; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 11.
 11. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 500; *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 12. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 29; *Ibid.*
 13. The Sivi republic was situated in Southern Panjab. The seat of the republic was Sibipur, the modern Shorkot. See Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 11, foot note 15.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. *Majjim Nikāh*, II. 4.8.; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 11.
 16. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 81.

The following are the varieties of blanket mentioned by him¹ :—

- (i) Khachita (“may be made of worsted threads by sewing”),
- (ii) Vānchitra (“may be woven of woollen threads of various colours”),
- (iii) Khaṇḍasangātya (“may be made of different pieces”),
- (iv) Tantuvichchhinna (“may be woven of uniform woollen thread”).

Further he states other ten varieties of blankets,² which the commentator has interpreted in the following manner :—

- (i) Kambala—“A coarse blanket”.³
- (ii) Kauchapaka—The commentator has read kuchelaka, which is worn by cowherds.⁴
- (iii) Kulamitika—(kathamitika) “is head-dress.”⁵
- (iv) Saumitika—“A covering put over the back of a bullock”.⁶
- (v) Turagāstarana—A ‘āstarana’ spread on the back of a horse.⁷
- (vi) Varṇaka—(Varṇakambali) is a coloured blanket.⁸
- (vii) Talichchhaka—A blanket or a bed sheet.⁹
- (viii) Vārabāṇa—A coat.
- (ix) Paristoma—A large blanket.¹⁰
- (x) Samantabhadra—An ‘astarana’ spread on the back of an elephant.¹¹

Of these, that one is the best which is slippery (pichchhila) as a wet surface, possessed of fine hair and soft.¹² Nepāla was famous for woollen cloths. Two types of blankets are mentioned by Kautilya produced there. One is ‘Bhīṅgisī’ (“made up of eight pieces and black in colour”) and other is ‘Apasāraka’.¹³

He also states that six types of blankets were manufactured from wild animals.¹⁴

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- 1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 81.
 - 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
 - 3. *Ibid.*, p. 81., f. n. 4.
 - 4. *Ibid.*, p. 81., f. n. 5.
 - 5. *Ibid.*, p. 82., f. n. 1.
 - 6. *Ibid.*, 82., f. n. 2.
 - 7. *Ibid.*, p. 82., f. n. 3.
 - 8. *Ibid.*, p. 82., f. n. 4.
 - 9. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 82., f. n. 5.
 - 10. *Ibid.*, p. 82., f. n. 7.
 - 11. *Ibid.*, f. n. 8.
 - 12. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
 - 13. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
 - 14. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

- (i) Samputikā—Trouser (janghāstraṇa).¹
- (ii) Chaturāśrika—“A (rectangular) blanket devoid of any special colour on the borders and measuring nine angulas.”²
- (iii) Lambarā—“A curtain or wrapper. (prachchhadapaṭṭa).³
- (iv) Katavānaka—“The same as the last, but made of coarse threads.”⁴
- (v) Prāvāraka—The same variety.⁵
- (vi) Sattalika—A carpet.⁶

Pāṇyakambala

Pāṇini has referred to Pāṇyakambala.⁷ Prof. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted it as “Blankets produced in standard size and marketable goods.” “Their size and weight were determined according to the measure of wool used. Such measure was called Kambalya, equal to one hundred palas in weight, roughly five seers. The kambalya measure is derived by Pāṇini as samjna word pointing to its definite meaning. The kambalya seems to have been a measure of value and medium of exchange for some transactions in the barter economy of those days.”⁸

Pāṇḍukambala

In the *Ashṭādhyāyī*,⁹ ‘pāṇḍukambala’ is also mentioned. Prof. V. S. Agrawala says, “This blanket was used for the mounting of chariots, which were called ‘pāṇḍukambali’ after it.”¹⁰ The *Kasika* explains ‘pāṇḍukambala’ as a high class coloured rug used for royal seat.¹¹ In the *Jātaka*, it is mentioned as the stuff for covering the throne of *Indra*¹² and the back of royal elephant.¹³ It was of bright red colour woven in Gandhāra.¹⁴ Gandhāra, the home of wool in Vedic times, continued later on as a centre of wool industry. Prof. V. S. Agrawala says, “the

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1. *Ibid.*, f. n. 9.
 2. *Ibid.*, f. n. 10.
 3. *Ibid.*, f. n. 11.
 4. R. Shamasastri, p. 82, f. n. 12.
 5. *Ibid.*, f. n. 13.
 6. *Ibid.*, f. n. 14.
 7. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, v. 2.42.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 130.
 9. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 2.11.
 10. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. *Jātaka*, II, 188; III, 53., IV, 8; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.
 13. *Ibid.*, VI, 490.
 14. *Ibid.*, VI, 500.

pāṇḍukambala may be identified with the blankets still woven in the swat valley, which have beautiful borders of scarlet colour.”¹

Rāṅkava—These are some rich kinds of woollen goods produced in the Rāṅku country.² They were presented to Yudhishtira in his Rājasūya.³ Pāṇini mentions rāṅku,⁴ from which rāṅkava is got. The Kāśikā explains rāṅkava as a blanket.⁵

Kutapa—These are also a blanket referred to by Patañjali.⁶ Kutapa was light woollen Kambala or shawl. These were made up of the wool of Nepāl.⁷

Varṇakā—In the *Vārttika*, Kātyāyana mentions varṇakā⁸ (Varṇakā tantava). Kauṭilya also has mentioned ‘varṇakā’ as a woollen blanket.⁹

Koṭumbara—The cloth Koṭumbara is mentioned in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*.¹⁰ (Kodāham Kappāsakoseyyam Khomakoṭumbarāṇica). Dr. Moti Chandra writes, “Koṭumbara was also a variety of cloth, the nature of which has not been explained. It is, however, possible that it might have been some woollen or barken or cotton stuff manufactured in the country of Audumbaras, the word ‘Adumbara’ and ‘Koṭumbara’ being synonymous according to Pryzluski”.¹¹

Skin—Skin is also a clothing material. In *mahabhārata*, Brahmanas have been mentioned wearing skin garment.¹² In the Jataka,¹³ skin (ajina) is mentioned as clothing. It seems that in these days the skins of lion, tiger leopard, cow and deer were used, for clothing as well as for bed sheets etc.¹⁴ Dr. Moti Chandra writes on the basis of the *Mahāvagga*, “In Madhyadesh (United Provinces and Bihar) the skins of eragu, moragu and cats (majjaru) and in the Dakshinapatha the skins of rams, goats and deer served as coverlets, and even in the case of bhikshus, for whom no kind of skin clothing or bedding was allowed, a concession was made in these countries”.

1. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 233.
2. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 16, f. n. 5.
3. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 17; *Mahābhārata*, II, 51.26.
4. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV, 2. 100.
5. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 131.
6. *Mahābhāshya*, II. 1.69.
7. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 200.
8. *Vārttika*, VII, 3.45; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.
9. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 82.
10. *Jātak*, Vol. VI., p. 46.; See Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 10.
11. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 11.
12. Meyer, *Sexual life in Ancient India*, p. 85.
13. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 500.
14. *Mahāvagga*, V. 10. 5-7; Rhys Davids, *Vinay-Texts*, Pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 28.
15. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 12.

Kauṭilya also has given a detailed account of skins. He mentions many varieties of skins which may be mentioned below :—

1. Kāntānavaka¹—This is of the colour of the neck of the peacock. Probably it was produced in Kantanavaka country,² but unfortunately, the situation of this country is not yet known.
2. Praiyaka³—This is variegated skin. This is “of four kinds : blue, yellow, white and spotted.”⁴

These two types of skins are eight aṅgulas (inches) long.

3. Auttara—Parvataka⁵—There is no knowledge about it.
4. Bisī—It is “of indistinct colour, hairy and variegated (with spots).”⁶ According to the commentary of Gaṇapati Shastry, the colour of this skin is the mixture of many colours.⁷
5. Mahābisī—“It is of white colour and rough.”⁸

These two varieties of skins, Bisi and Mahabisi, are the products of Dvādasagrama, twelve villages of the Himālyas.⁹ These skins are eight aṅgulas (inches) long.

In the Āroha of the Himālayas five kinds of skins are produced which are given below :—

6. Śyāmikā—It is brown in colour with variegated spots.¹⁰
7. Kālīka—It is of brown colour or of the colour of pigeon.¹¹
These two syamika and kalika are eight aṅgulas long.¹²
8. Kadalī—It is rough and two feet long.¹³

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1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 80.
 2. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 48.
 3. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 80.
 4. *Ibid.*, f. n. 9.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 7. Gaṇapati Shastry, *Arthśāstra*, Vol. I., p. 191, ; Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 48.
 8. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 81.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 80., f. n. 10.
 10. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 81.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. *Ibid.*

9. Chandrottara—This is a type of Kadali consisted of variegated moon-like spots.¹ It is eight aṅgulas long.
10. Śākula—“It is variegated with large round spots similar to those that manifest themselves in a kind of leprosy (Kushṭha), or is furnished with tendrils and spotted like a deer’s skin.”²

These skins produced from Bāhlava (Bāhlaveya)³ are given below :

11. Sāmūra—It is black in colour and thirty six angulas long.⁴
12. Chināsi—It is blakish white or reddish black in colour.⁵ It is a product of China.
13. Sāmūlī—It is of the colour of wheat.⁶

There are three varieties of skins of aquatic animals (Audra) :—

14. Sātina—It is black.⁷
15. Nalatula—It is of colour of fibre of Nala, a kind of grass.⁸
16. Vṛittapuchchha—It is brown and possesses a round tail.⁹

Kauṭilya states that the skins which are shoft, smooth and hairy are the best.¹⁰

Kauṭilya has mentioned other skins also which were the products of forests. Of them, the main skins are of “godha (alligator), seraka (?), dvīpi (leopard), śimśumāra (porpoise), simha (lion), vyāghra (tiger), hastī (elephant), mahisha (buffalo), chamara (bos grunniena), gomṛiga (bos gavaeus), and gavaya (the gayal)”.¹¹

Besides these clothings, some other special clothings also have been described which are said to be made of the kuśa grass (kuśa chīra),¹² bark (valkala), phalaka hair (keśa-kambala), the feathers of an owl, the strips of deer skins (ajinaksip) and the cloth made from fibrous stalks of mandāra.¹³

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1. *Ibid.*
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 3. The name of country on the borders of the Himālayas. *Ibid.*, p. 81, f. n. 3.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
 6. Shamashastry, K. A., p. 81.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. R. Shamashastry, p. 108.
 12. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 28, 2-3; Rhys Davids, *Vinay Texts*, Pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, pp. 246-247.
 13. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 12.

The clothing materials, cotton, wool and skin were also used for the bed sheets, *chādanī*, *kālīna*, curtain etc. A list of these is mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* and *Brahmajalasutra*. Moti Chandra¹ has explained this list which is given below :

1. *Goṇaka*—It is *astarana* made from the hairs of the long haired sheep. According to Moti Chandra, it may be a garment like 'tahaband' reaching to the knees fastened around the waist. It is a stripped cloth. Yavans called it *kaunkes*. It seems, according to him that 'goṇaka' and 'kaunkes' were the same cloth. In India, 'goṇaka' was used as a *āstarāṇa*, not clothing

2. *Chittaka*—It was a coloured *kālīna* made of many pieces and used for covering the bed.

3. *Palikā*—White woollen *kālīna*

4. *Paṭalikā*—It was also a *kālīna* decorated from flowers.

5. *Tūlikā*—A Rajai.

6. *Vikaṭikā*—Th *āstarāṇa*, embroidered with the figures of tiger, leopard.

7. *Uddalomī*—The Kambala with furs on both sides.

8. *Akantalomī*—A type of coarse and hairy blanket.

9. *Kattisa*—A *āstarāṇa* decorated with jewels.

10. *Koseyya*—A silken *kalina*.

11. *Kuttaka*—A large *kālīna*, on which sixteen dancers can dance at one time.

12. *Hatthatthara or Assatthara*—A *āstarāṇa* covering horses, elephants and chariots.

13. *Ajinapaveni*—A kambala made from the skins of the deers.

14. *Chilimika*—A special *kalina*.

15. *Vāhitika*—A woollen kambala, sixteen hands long and eight hands broad.

16. *Namataka*—Modern 'namda'.

17. *Kojava*—Probably it was like the modern 'thulmā'.

Textile Industry

Kautilya gives a full account of the textile industry and notes that Kāśī, Madhura (Madurai), Aparānta, Kālīṅga, Vāṅga, Paṇḍya, Suvarṇa-bhūmi, China, etc. were the industry centres.² Varanasi is a very important centre for textile. Buddhist literature is full of references to the cloth of Kasi (Kāśī Kuttama).³ It is at places termed as Kasiyani.⁴ There are some other references for the cloth of Kasi such as 'Kasikavattham', 'Kasikam', and 'Kasikasucivattham'.⁵ The fineness of its structure did not absorb oil. Dr. Moti Chandra describes as : "This fineness

1. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., pp. 32-33.

2. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 81.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 193.

3. *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 47. ; *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. p. 500, *Ibid.*

5. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 11, f. n. 6.

of the structure of Banaras cloth (Vārānaseyyaka) is also given in the *Majjhima-Nikaya*.¹ The commentator praises the cloth of Banaras because in Banaras, according to him, fine cotton was produced; the women spinners and the weavers were clever and the water (for bleaching) was also soft and smooth."² Silk was also produced in Banaras.³ It is possible that Banaras produced silk goods in those days as today. Besides cotton and silken cloths, woollen cloth was also produced in Banaras. The mixed variety of kambala and kshauma also was produced there.⁴ Jivaka Kumarabhritya got the kambala (mixed with kshauma) in gift from kāśirāja. In the *Mahāvagga*⁵ at one place, the 'addhakasikam' kambala is referred. Rhys Davids has translated it as the woollen cloth made half of Banaras cloth.⁶ According to Buddhghosha,⁷ the meaning of 'Kāśī' in 'addhakasiya' is one thousand kasharpanas and thus the meaning of 'addhakāśiya' is five hundred kasharpanas. The value of this garment was five hundred kasharpanas, therefore, it was called 'addhakāśiya'. According to Moti Chandra,⁸ 'addhakāśiya' cloth is a very thin cloth because even today 'addhi' is used for a very thin cloth.

Kauṭilya mentions that the cloth which is manufactured in the country of Vaṅga is of white and soft fibres (dukūla), that of Puṇḍra manufacture, is black and soft as the surface of a gem, and that which is the product of the country of Suvarṇakudya is as red as the sun, as soft as the surface of a gem.⁹

The country of Sivi was famous for its shawl, and the 'Siveyyakadussa' is praised in the *Mahāvagga*.¹⁰ Buddhghosa gives two interpretations of 'Siveyyakam-dussa', (i) the cloth used in the Uttarakuru country for veiling the dead bodies when they are brought to the burying ground (ii) the cloth woven in Sivi country.¹¹ Probably this was the cloth of Sivi country.

Name of cloths

Patañjali¹² names 'Kāśikā' as the famous cloth woven in Banaras; 'Mādhyamika' as woven in Madhyamikā or Chittor; and 'Śāṭaka' woven in Mathura. Kauṭilya

1. *Majjhima Nikaya*, 11.3.7.
2. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 11.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
4. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 30
5. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 2.36.
6. Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, Max Muller (Ed) S. B. E., Vol. XVII. p. 195.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 196, f. n. 1.
8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 31.
9. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 82.
10. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1.29.
11. Rhys Davids (Trans.), *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 190, f. n. 1.
12. *Mahābhāshya*, II, 413; I. 19; See V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.

gives the names of cloth according to their manufacturing centres, such as Vangaka (in Vaṅga), Paṇḍraka (in Puṇḍra), Suvarṇakudṛyaka (in Suvarṇakudṛya), Māgad-hika (in Magadha).¹

Exported cloths

In the Mauryan and subsequent periods, cotton seems to have been in great demand for manufacturing cloth. The cloth of Kasi was very famous and was exported to foreign countries. Saletore has given the following evidence of the textile exports from India.² The silken cloth was also exported from the north-eastern region. "From the Ganges implying the Gangetic regions were exported great quantities of silk and other goods."³

According to Kautilya, Bhiṅgisi and Apasāraka blankets were imported from Nepala but he does not state from where the woollen, blankets were exported and made. Animal skin, cotton cloth, silk yarn, muslin, etc. are the chief articles of exports from India.⁴

Indian Muslin in the Roman Empire

The muslin from India was highly valued in Roman Empire. The author of the Periplus says that "the best broad sort and coarser cotton were produced in Gujrata and exported to East Africa from Barygaza along with a third kind of coarse 'mallow-coloured' cloth (malochine) dyed with a product of Indian Hibiscus."⁵ Dr. Moti Chandra⁶ says that "the demand of cotton cloth, both dyed and otherwise, was so great that it displaced the demand for cloth produced else-where. The fine Indian muslin was called 'ventus textile' or 'nebula.'" According to Arrian,⁷ Indian cotton were whiter and brighter than were those of any other region; and according to Lucian, "the Indian fabrics were lighter and softer than the Greek."⁸

Dr. Moti Chandra says, "For fine texture and softness no Asiatic wool could compare with the 'pashm' wool of the shawl-goat of Kashmir, Bhutan, Tibet and the northern face of the Himalayas."⁹ It is mentioned that the Aurelian received

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1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 82.
 2. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 266.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., p. 604.
 5. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 29.
 6. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 39.
 7. Mc. Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 224.
 8. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 30.
 9. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 31.

a red-dyed woollen shawl as a gift from Persian King Warmington is of opinion that this shawl was manufactured in India.¹

Imported Cloths

From China, Bactria, and Nepāl, the cloths were also imported into India during this period. Kauṭilya has referred some imported clothing materials such as the 'Chīnāsī' type of skins, the 'bhīngisī' and 'apasārka' kinds of blankets etc. Probably the 'Chīna-paṭṭa' was the silken cloth manufactured in China. Periplus states that "raw silk and silk were imported to India in the first century A. D. from Thinae (Singfanu) in China."²

In the Sabhāparva,³ the name of places are mentioned from where woollen goods, wool, and skins, etc. came to India.

The cloth of Kamboja : The Kāmbojas (the people of Badakshān and the Pāmirs) presented Yudhishtīra at the time of his Rājsūya the woollen embroidered shawl, and the skins of animals. The Kadalī skin referred by Kauṭilya⁴ was also presented in the Rājasūya.

The cloth of Ābhīra—The Ābhīras brought woollen cloth of various designs (Kambalan-vividhān)⁵ which were not made from cotton (vastram akārpāsam),⁶ manufactured from the soft wool of the sheep and shaggy goat (ajinam).

The cloth of Chīna and Vālhika—The shawl made up of wool and hair of deer (rāṅkavali) was manufactured in Vālhika and China and these shawls came to India at the time of Rājasūya.⁷

The cloth of central Asia and Afaganistan

From these countries were brought namadā (kuṭṭikṛitam), the woollen shawls of red colour as that of red lotus, silken cloth and the skins of sheep as presents in the Rājasūya.⁸

Weaving—In this period the weaving art was highly advanced. The weavers were very expert and clever in their industry. In Buddhist literature, the guild of weavers is mentioned. Rhys Davids writes about the weavers, "They not only

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1. Warmington, *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 160; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 31.
 2. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 268.
 3. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 16.
 4. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 80.
 5. *Mahābhārata*, II, 51, 13.
 6. *Ibid.*, II, 51, 27; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 17.
 7. *Ibid.*, II, 51, 26; *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 60.

made the cloths which people wrapped round themselves as dress, but manufactured fine muslin for export, and worked costly and daintly fabrics of silk cloth and fur into rugs, blankets and carpets.”¹ Pāṇini also refers to weaver (tantuvāya).² Dr V.S. Agrawala describes, “the process of weaving comprised stretching the warp and then weaving threads across it with shuttle.”³ “Āstīṇam tantram protam tantram”.

Kauṭilya informs about the weaving superintendent, weaving employees and wages etc. Kauṭilya says that the superintendent of Weaving shall be a person qualified in the manufacture of threads, coats (varma) and cloths (vastra).⁵

Kauṭilya says, “Windows, cripple women, girls, mendicant or ascetic women (pravragitā) women were compelled to work in default of paying fines (daṇḍapratikāriṇī), mothers of prostitutes, old women servants of the king, and prostitutes (devādāsī) who have ceased to attend temples on service shall be employed to cut wool, fibre, cotton, tūla, hemp and flax.”⁶

“Those women who do not stir out of their houses (anishkāsinyah), those whose husbands are gone abroad and those who are cripple or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence, be provided with work (of spinning out threads) in due courtesy through the medium of maid servants (of the weaving establishment).”⁷

Kauṭilya says that the wages shall be fixed according to the threads spun as fine, coarse (sthūla, i.e. big) or of middle quality and quantity of threads spun.⁸ Weavers, when guilty, shall be fined out of their wages in proportion to their offences.”⁹ Manu also referred to ‘tantuvāya’ (weaver). Prof. V. S. Agrawala writes on the basis of the *Manusmṛiti*, “He ginned cotton and separated the seed (Kārpāsthī), then spun yarn (sūtra-tantu and wove it into cloth of cotton, silk, linen and wool”. Some previous cloths of fine variety as were noted for export markets, were prepared (uttamavāśasām). For ten ‘palās’ of yarn, the weaver supplied eleven ‘palās’ of cloth.”¹⁰

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1. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 90.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.
 3. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.
 4. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 338., V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.
 5. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 125.
 6. *Ibid.*
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 126.
 10. V. S. Agrawala, I. D. M., p. 37.

Technical terms connected with weaving

Pāṇini mentions some words which were associated with weaving. Prof. V. S. Agrawala¹ has interpreted these words such as 'tantuvāya' (weaver), 'āvāya' (the place where the weaver plied his loom), tantra (the looms), pravāṇi (the shuttle), tantraka (a piece of cloth or blanket fresh from the loom, meaning a new unbleached piece) and nishpravāṇi ('separated from shuttle as a mark of weaving being completed').

In the *Chullavagga*², the words 'tantaka' (the loom), 'Vemaka', 'ṭaṭṭi' (salākā) and 'atṭa' (thread) etc. are referred. From these references, it so seems that in the Buddha's age the bhikshus were free to weave the cloth.

In the *Bhimasena Jātaka*³, the Brāhmaṇa archer mentions the work of a weaver (tantuvaya) to be a miserable low work (lāmakakamma). In the *Suttavi-bhaṅga*⁴ also the profession of weaver is mentioned as low.

Cutting, Sewing and Embroidering

In the *Mahāvagga* and *Chullavagga*, various technical terms and implements employed in sewing are given. In the *Mahāvagga*, it is said that there were experts in the art of sewing.⁵

1. *Needle* (Sūchī)—The needles were made by the feathers of hen and bamboo. The needle was kept in a case (sūchīnalikā) made of bamboo.⁶ Besides this there are many references about the needle. In the *Mahāvagga*,⁷ the references of 'peband' (acchupenti) is also made. It was impossible without the use of sūchī. Reference of stiches is also found (suttantarika). 'Kalambaka' and 'moghasuttaka' were the types of stiches. Sewing after folding was called 'sobhana'.

2. *Scissor* (Satthaka)⁸—The handle of the scissors was made of gold, silver, but bhikshus used only of bone and conchshell⁹ for this purpose.

1. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 232.

2. *Chullavagga*, V. 20.2.; Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 36.

3. *Jātaka*, I. 356.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 10.

4. *Pachittiya* II, 2.1.; *Ibid.*

5. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 42.

6. *Chullavagga*, V. 11.2.; Rhys Davids, *Vinaya-Texts*, Pt. III, S. B. E., Vol. XX, p. 91.

7. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya Pitaka, Ke Adhara Para Bharatiya Bhautika Jivana Ki Jhalaka", J. U. P. H. S., Vols. XXIV-XXV (1951-52), p. 244.

8. *Chullavagga*, V. 11.1.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 13.

9. *Ibid.*, V. 11.1. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 43.

3. *Thimble*—It was also used to avoid needle pricks. It appears that gold and silver were employed for manufacturing thimbles of rich and lay people but for the bhikshus thimbles made from bone and conch shell, etc., were prescribed. A small bag (*āsevana-vitthaka*) was used to hold thimbles and scissors.¹

4. *Frame* (*Kaṭhina*)—In the *Chullavagga*,² the word 'kaṭhina' is referred in the connection of sewing material. The meaning of the word is not clear. Rhys Davids give the meaning of frame. The frame was spread out on the grass-mat to avoid its contact with dust. The frame with its upright (*daṇḍa kaṭhina*), wooden pegs (*pidalaka*), bamboo wedges (*salākā*), strings for tying and threads for sewing were used.³

The cloth was folded to get parallel lines (*kalambak*) for avoiding the irregular stiches. The long stiches (*moghasuttaka*) was used for having straight stiches.⁴

The *kathina* was framed with cow skin (*goghansikāya*) and was hanged on the hanger (*nāgadanta*).⁵

In the *Manusmṛiti*, the word 'tannuvāya'⁶ for tailor is used. In this period the people were also expert in embroidering. Megasthenese states that "Indian robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."⁷ In the Buddhist literature, embroidery (*pesakārasippa*) was relegated to the classes of despised caste.⁸ In the *Dīvyavadāna*, the embroidered shawls with precious stones are also mentioned⁹ (*Ratna-Suvarṇa-prāvarakāh*). Bhasa has also mentioned the embroidered cloth in his drama.¹⁰ An embroidered shawl was also presented to Yudhishṭhira in his *Rājasūya*.¹¹

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1. *Chullavagga*, V. 11.5.; Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. III, S. B. B., Vol. XX, p. 95.
 2. *Ibid.*, V. 11.3., *Ibid.*, p. 93.
 3. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 13.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 5. *Chullavagga*, V. 11.7.; Rhys Davids, *Vinaya-Texts*, Pt. III, S. B. B., Vol. XX. p. 98.
 6. *Manusmṛiti*, IV. 214; V. S. Agrawala, I. D. M., p. 37.
 7. M. C. Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 69.
 8. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 10.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
 10. Baladeva Uppadhyaya, *Bhāsa Nāṭaka Chakram*, p. 41.
"Manikanaka Vicitra citra malottariya".
 11. *Mahābhārata*, II, 51.8.

Dyeing

In the Buddhist literature, the dyed cloths are mentioned. The costumes of laymen were dyed in indigo, yellow, crimson, majenta, black, turmeric (haldī).¹ For the bhikshus, only yellow cloth was allowed. The cloth dyed in 'kesara' was in vogue at the time of 'Kārttika mahotsava'.² In the *Mahāvagga*,³ the process of dyeing is given in detail. The dye was got from the root, stem, bark, leaves and flowers of the trees.⁴ If the colour of cloth was very dark, the dyed cloth was washed atonce in water. After dyeing the cloth, the wet cloth was hung on the bamboo or rajju (chivara vansam, chivara rajjum).

In the *Lalitavistara*, paṭolaka silk or variegated silk is mentioned. "It was woven with warp and weft threads separately tied and dyed by 'bandhana' process".⁵

Prof. V. S. Agrawala says, "Pāṇini refers to several dyes then known, the cloth dyed being named after the dye".⁶ For example, the lohataka⁷ was the cloth dyed in red colour and kālaka⁸ was the cloth of black colour. Lāksha,⁹ rāga,¹⁰ madder (manjishṭha), indigo¹¹ (nili), orpiment (rochanā)¹² were the dye stuffs. According to Kātyāyana, 'śakala' (powdered potsherds) and 'kardama' (black mud from the bottom of a pool) also served as dyeing stuff. Prof. V. S. Agrawala thinks that it was used for the first process of bleaching of coarser fabrics.¹³ The cloth dyed in 'śakala' and 'kardama' were known 'śākalika' and 'kārdamika'.¹⁴ Kātyāyana has mentioned also 'haridrā' and 'mahārajana' as the dye-stuffs.¹⁵ Rāga was used both for sentiment and dye stuff. Some dyes are very dark and give the colour very easily on the cloth. Sometimes a cloth was coloured in many colours. This cloth was known as citravāsas.¹⁶

For dyer, the word 'rañjaka' is used in the *Manusmṛiti*.¹⁷

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1. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 28, 2-3.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 12.
 2. Ramji Upadhyaya, *Prāchīna Bhārata Kī Sānskritika Bhūmika*, p. 847.
 3. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 10.1.
 4. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya Piṭaka Ke Ādhāra Para Bharatiya Bhautika Jivana Kī Jhalaka," *J. U. P. H. S.*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, p. 245.
 5. *Lalitavistara*, p. 113; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 30.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 230.
 7. *Ibid.*, V. 4.32.
 8. *Ibid.*, V. 4.33.
 9. *Ibid.*, IV. 2.2. also called jatu, IV. 3.138.
 10. *Ibid.*, VI. 4.26,27.
 11. *Ibid.*, IV. 1.42.
 12. *Ibid.*, IV. 2.2.
 13. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. p., p. 231.
 14. *Mahābhāshya*, IV. 2.2.
 15. *Vārttika*, IV. 2.2.; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 231.
 16. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 317.
 17. *Manu-Smṛiti*, IV. 216.

Laundering

In the Buddhist literature the process of laundering is not mentioned. In Jain literature it is referred.¹ First of all, the cloth was boiled with 'sajjikhāra' and then was washed. For launderer the word 'chailanirnejaka' is noticed in the *Manuśmṛiti*.² They used 'arishtthṭaka'³ (soap berries, rīṭhā) for blanket, alkali⁴ for silken and woollen cloths and white mustard⁵ for linen cloth.

Various types of Garments

Uttariya and Antariya—

Kāśikākāra has used 'vastrayugika'⁶ for the body, it means 'vastrayuga' beautifies the body. It seems that generally people used a pair of clothes, one for lower part and other for upper part. Nearchus also tells us about the dress of Indians, "they wear an under garment of cotton which reaches below the knees half way down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head."⁷ The dress of the men is indicated in the sutra of Panini 'antaram bahiryogopasaṁvyānayoḥ'⁸ Prof., V.S. Agrawala⁹ explains that "antara in Pāṇini's time was used in two senses, viz. exterior (bahiryoga) and dress (upasaṁvyāna). According to Kātyāyana, 'upasaṁvyāna' denoted one of a pair of 'śāṭakas'. Since there were two 'śāṭakas', one serving as 'uttariya' and other as 'antariya', 'upasaṁvyāna' denoted the one which served as 'antariya', viz. that which was worn, and not that which was used as a wrapper or scarf to be thrown over the shoulders." Kāśikā¹⁰ also explains that 'upasaṁvyāna' was a kind of paridhāniya 'fit for wearing' and not a prāvāraṇiya 'covering'. So, 'upasaṁvyāna', 'antara', 'śāṭaka' and 'antariya' are the same, used for a piece of cloth that are seen in sculptural evidences which we use the common word 'dhoti'. In the *Mahābhāshya*,¹¹ 'śāṭaka' is used for the dhoti. In a sutra it is given that the price of one hundred śāṭakas was one hundred.¹² It means the price of one śāṭaka was one silver kārshāpaṇa. In the *Amarakosha*, there are four words for the cloth worn below the waist, i.e. 'antariya; 'upasaṁvyāna', 'paridhānam', 'adhon-

1. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 34.
2. *Manu-Smṛiti*, IV. 216; V. S. Agrawala, I. D. M., p. 37.
3. *Ibid.*, V. 120.
4. *Ibid.*, V. 120.
5. *Ibid.*, VIII, 396.
6. *Mahābhāshya*, 5.1.19; See Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 198.
7. M. C. Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 224.
8. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, I. 1.36.
9. V. S. Agrawala, I.K.P., p. 128.
10. *Ibid.* p. 128.
11. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 1.64.
12. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 129.

sukam'.¹ For upper garment worn above the waist are *prāvāra*, '*uttarasanga*', '*bṛihatikā*', '*saṁvyānam*', '*uttariya*' etc.²

Āprapadina

Prof. V. S. Agrawala³ explains that '*aprapadina*' is used for the dhoti or any lower garment reaching down to the forepart of foot. It is also recorded in the *Amarakosha* ⁴

Ardhoruka

It is a drawer or skirt reaching upto the middle of thigh. It is a dress of the women of exalted rank.⁵ It is a natural contrast of '*āprapadina*'. Dhavalikar interpretes '*ardhoruka*' as a short dhoti reaching to the knees or just below the knees.⁶

Chañḍātaka

Prof. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted '*chañḍātaka*' as follows : "It consists of two elements, namely '*chañḍa*' and *ataka*. The latter was the same as Vedic '*atka*' denoting a coat like garment. '*Chañḍa*' means violently shaking or trembling. Thus *chañḍātaka* denoted a tunic of which the lower portion hanging loose moved to and fro like a skirt."⁷ But Sivaramamurti takes it as a drawer. According to him '*chañḍātaka*' is a synonym of '*ardhoruka*'.⁸ According to Moti Chandra, the modern word '*achakan*' used for long flowing coat also seems to be derived from '*atka*'.⁹ '*Atka*' means a complete armour of a soldier.¹⁰ Thus it seems that '*chañḍātaka*' is a tunic or coat (*Kañchuka*), the lower part of which from the waist flutters.

Nīvi—In sculptures we see the dhoti secured by a sash around the waist. This type of sash or girdle is clearly visible in Parakhama, Patna and Bharhut statues where it can be distinguished from the upper scarf and the lower dhoti. Pāṇini refers to a '*nīvi*' and '*upanīvi*'.¹¹ Prof. V. S. Agrawala explains that '*nīvi*' was a girdle and the region of girdle being called '*upanīvi*'.¹²

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1. *Amarakosha*, 2.6.116.
 2. *Ibid.*, 2.6.116.
 3. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., 129.
 4. *Amarakosha*, 2.6.119.
 5. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 118.
 6. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 17.
 7. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 42.
 8. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 118.
 9. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 9.
 10. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Ct. I, p. 19.
 11. *Ashtādhyāyī*, IV. 3. 40.
 12. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 129.

Paṭakā—It is decorative piece of cloth which hangs in front from nivi. Prof. V. S. Agrawala has observed, “In the *Sthūlādigaṇa* there is a reference to the gomutrikā cloth, which appears to have been so called from gomutrikā design woven into its texture at one end. The gomutrikā pattern has known in the fourth century B.C. as mentioned in the *Arthashastra* in connection with the formation of battle arrays. We may note in this connection that the pata'i or front folds of the dhoti on yaksha statues aforesaid are arranged zig zag in the form of the gomutrika motif.”¹

Kañchuka—It is a kind of long coat with sleeves and closed collars in front.² This is worn by attendants warriors and hunters.³

Vārabāṇa—It is also a coat or tunic similar to kanchuka but reaching up to the knees only.⁴ It is a close fitting garment like the military dress.⁵

Chīnacholaka—According to Prof. V. S. Agrawala, it is an over coat worn over all other drapery, and which has an open collar and buttonless front portion over the chest.⁶ Probably the dress of a dvārapāla of Pitalakhora is chinacolaka.⁷

Kūrpasaka—Prof. V. S. Agrawala opines that it is the garment without sleeves or with half sleeves and long up to the waist only.⁸ In the *Amarakosha*, it is mentioned as a female garment.⁹

Achchhādanaka—Prof. V. S. Agrawala interpretes as, “A short scarf covering both shoulders and knotted in front on the chest.”¹⁰ This type of scarf is seen in a scene of foreign musicians depicted at Sāñchī.¹¹ Pāṇini mentions the word ‘āchchhadana’ in the sense of a upper garment.¹²

Prāvāra—(also prāvāra)—It is a garment used to cover the upper part of body.¹³ From a Sāñchī inscription, it seems that there were ‘prāvārikas’ or the

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1. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 129.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 183.
 3. Barua, *Barhut* pls. XX, LXII, b.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 183.
 5. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*; fig. 298.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 184.
 7. Ancient India, No. 15., pl. LI. A.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 185.
 9. *Amarakosha*, 2.6.116.
 10. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 186.
 11. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, Pl. X.
 12. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 127.
 13. *Mahābhārata*, II. 48.17, Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 61.

seller of scarfs.¹ Prof. V. S. Agrawala takes it in the sense of āchchhādana.² But Kautilya names 'prāvāraka' as a blanket made of the wool of wild animals.³ In the *Mahābhārata*, 'prāvāra' is described as a class of blanket for protection against cold.⁴ Prof. V. S. Agrawala has the opinion that the 'pravara' was a wrapper made of finer quality of wool and lighter in weight than the 'pāṇḍu kambala'.⁵

Bṛihatikā—Pāṇini has the sutra 'bṛihatyā āchchhādana'.⁶ It is a big garment which covers the most part of body. In the words of Prof. V. S. Agrawala as remarked by the Greeks about the dress of the Indians, 'They have a tunic of tree linen down to the middle of their shins.' "This long tunic may have been the 'bṛihatikā' conforming to a real etymology of that word."⁷ Patanjali has mentioned it as a current dress.⁸ Prof. V. S. Agrawala says, "It seems to have been a fine wrapper 24' by 12' in size, mentioned in the *Majjima Nikāya*".⁹

In the *Amarakosha* also, prāvāra and bṛihatikā are used in the meaning of an upper garment.¹⁰

Ushṇīsha or Veshṭanī—It is a turban which was worn mostly by men; sometimes it was also used by females.

Oḍhanī—It is a piece of cloth which is used by females to cover the head.

Shoes—Shoes or upānah was an important article of costume. It was made of different shapes, colours and materials. The leathers used for the shoes were dyed yellow, red, manjeeta, black or in various colours.¹¹ It is said in a *Jātaka* that it was necessary to purchase the shoes for the protection of body.¹² The shoes were of one lining, two linings (dvipatala), three linings (tipatala) and four linings (chatupatala).¹³ The shoes were worn of different colours such as red, brown, black, orange.¹⁴ The bhikshus used shoes with only one lining¹⁵ though the old shoes of

1. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, Vol. I, p. 313.
2. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 127.
3. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 82.
4. *Mahābhārata*, Vāṇaparva, 3.51.; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 130.
5. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 130.
6. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 4. 6.
7. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 130.
8. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 2. 69.
9. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 131.
10. *Amarakosha*, 2. 6.116.
11. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 14.
12. *Jātaka*, (227), II. P. 55, See Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 39
13. *Mahāvagga*, V. 1. 29.; Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt II, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 14.
14. *Ibid.*, V. 2. 2.; *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, V. 2.1.; *Ibid.*

several linings could be used by them.¹ There were many types of shoes in vogue² which are given as follows interpreted by Dr. Moti Chandra.³

1. *Putabanddha*—The shoes which covered the foot up to the knee. According to Buddhaghosha, it was of Yavana type and covered completely the legs. This type of shoes are shown in the Sanchi sculptures. Later, In the *Bṛihad Kalpa-sutra Bhāshya* it is named as 'janghā' or 'khapusā'.⁴

2. *Puḍigunthima*—This type of shoe covers only the foot leaving bare the thigh.

3. *Khallakabaddha*—According to Buddhaghosha, this type of shoe was a 'Khallaka' covering the foot from the sole to the ankle.⁵

4. *Mendavishāṇa baddhika*—The boots pointed with horns of sheep and ram.

5. *Vṛichchhakālika*—It was decorated with the tail of scorpion.⁶

6. *Morapinchhparisibbita*—It was decorated with the feathers of peacock.⁷

7. *Tittirapaṭṭika*—It was the shoes like the wings of partridge.⁸

The shoes were also made of skins of tiger, lion, leopard, deer, cat, and owl.⁹ It is said in the *Kāma Jātaka*¹⁰ that the cobbler when shapes his shoes, cuts off rough ends and leaves them plain.

The *pādukas* made of palm leaves and bamboo were also used by lay-men. But they were forbidden to the *bhikshus*.¹¹ The *chappalas* were made from the above materials as well as from straw, *muñja*-grass, *hintāl* wood, *kamala*, *balvaja*, grass and blankets used by lay people and forbidden to the *bhikshus*. The rich people used sandals decorated with gold, silver, jewels, beryl, crystal, bronze, glass, tin and copper.¹²

Pāṇini and Patañjali have also referred to the 'upānah'. A pair of shoes was called 'sarva charmīna' which was a superior quality (*sarva-charmīna kṛitāh*) as

1. *Ibid.*, V. 3.2, *Ibid.*, p. 17.

2. *Mahāvagga*, V. 2.3.

3. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 39.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 16.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

9. Rhys Davids, *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 16.

10. *Jātaka*, IV. 172.; See Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 15.

11. *Mahāvagga*, V. 7.1.; *Ibid.*

12. *Mahāvagga*, V. 8.3.; *Ibid.*, p. 15.

explained by Kāsikā.¹ Pāṇini refers to the custom of manufacturing shoes to the order given by a client according to the measurement of his foot (anupādīna).² The 'upānah' made of wood, had a hole in which a manju rope was inserted in such a manner that it gave the proper place for foot. This type of upānah was different from pādukā. This is also used by village people today. In the shoes of raw leather, the residue of the oil was used for softness.³

Garments of Bhikshus and Bhikshunis

The dress of bhikshus and bhikshunis consisted of three garments, all of which were dyed in yellow : the first was 'antaravāsaka, the second 'uttarāsaṅga' and the third 'sanghātī', a double wrapper.⁴ From the inscriptions of Sāñchi⁵, Sarnath⁶ and Kauśāmbī,⁷ it is clear that the yellow chivara was necessary for bhikshus. Besides these, they used 'prityastaraṇa' (a sheet for sitting), and 'kaṇduka-praticchādana', measuring four span long and two broad⁸ or 'kopina' when suffering from itches. Another cloth 'vārshikaśāṭikā' was allowed which was a loin cloth measuring lengthwise six spans and breadth-wise 2½ spans from Buddha's hand. The bhikshus used also 'āyogapaṭṭa'⁹ (a piece of cloth passed round the leg and back at the time of sitting).¹⁰ The clasp used in kamarabandha made of silver and gold was prohibited to the bhikshus.¹¹

Besides these garments, the bhikshunis used 'kañchuka' also. It is mentioned at one place that a bhikshuni who went to a village without 'kañchuka' had to perform 'prayaschitta'.¹² The coloured, attractive and decorated pieces with gold and jewels were prohibited to the bhikshus and bhikshunis.

Dress of Brāhmaṇas and Shramaṇas

The *Sihanāda Sūtta* gives a detailed accounts of their garments.¹³ They used the cloth made of sana, sava-dussa (separated cloth from the dead body), pansa-

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1. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. 2.5.; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 234.
 2. *Ibid.*, V. 2.9.; *Ibid.*
 3. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 202.
 4. *Mahāvagga*, VII, 13.4-5.
 5. Rajabali Pande, *Ashoka Abhilekha*, p. 183.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
 8. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 17.2.; *Bhikkhupātimokkha*, V. 39.90.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 12.
 9. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 18.1.; *Ibid.*, V. 39.91.
 10. *Chullavagga*, V. 20.2.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 13.
 11. *Ibid.*, V. 29.2.
 12. *Bhikkunipātimokkha*, IV, 40.96.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 13.
 13. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 34.

dukūlāni, tiriṭani (made from the bark of tiriṭa), the skin of deer, the strips of black deer skin (ajinakhipam), kuśa, (Kuśachiram), balkala (vākachiram), phalak of wood, hair of human (keśakambala), the hair of tail of the horse (bāla-kambalam), and the feathers of an owl.¹ The grass named savadussa was used for the wrapping the dead body.² Keśakambala was also a garment of shramanas. They were an āchārya named Keśakambalī,³ Mostly sādhus used phalakachira, and balkala and skins which are represented in *Bharhut* and *Sāñchī* Sculptures. They had jatabhara and beard. 'Kantha' is also referred in *Bharhut* inscription and sculpture.⁴ They also used 'avasakthikā' or 'sanghātipallathikā' or 'dussapallathikā'.⁵ These are a piece of cloth which are also known as 'āyogapaṭṭa' and was used by them.

Dress of Jain Sādhus

According to *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*,⁶ the Jain sādhus used only three garments, two was kshauma 'śāṭakas' and one woollen chādara or sanghāṭī. The Jain sādhus did not wash and dye their cloths. Jinakalpadhārī sādhus did not use any type of garment.

Dress of lay people

The dress of lay-men consisted of the three parts ('antaravāsaka') or lion cloth, 'uttarāsaṅga' or a mantle for covering the upper part of body and 'ushnīsha' or pagaḍī. Sewn garments were also used by them. Tunics are seen many times in the sculpture of *Bharhuta* and *Sāñchī*. Kamarbandha and paṭakā were also used.

Fashionable ways of wearing the dhoti and kamarabandh

In the *Chullavagga*, certain modes of wearing the dhoti are given.⁷

1. *Hastiśaundika*—According to the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the pleated end was made to fall down. It looked like a 'elephant trunk'.

2. *Matsyavālaka*—The long and short borders were pleated in the shape of fish-tail.

3. *Chatushkarṇaka*—This was the garment of four corners, probably 'uttarāsaṅga' or dhoti in which four corners were seen.

1. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 35.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4. Ramanath Mishra, *Bharhut*, p. 57.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

6. *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*, 1.7.4.1.; Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 36.

7. *Chullavagga*, V. 29.4., Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 38.

4. *Talavṛintaka*—In this mode, the hanging pleats of dhoti looked like a palmette.

5. *Śatavallika*—In this mode, there were many pleats and creases.

Kamarabandha—There were many fashionable ways of tying the kamarabandha as noted by Dr. Moti Chandra :¹

1. *Kalāvuka*—It was the kamarabandha made of many strings plaited together.

2. *Dedḍubhaka*—It was of the shape of water serpent's hood i.e. the knot tapering to one end.

3. *Muraja*—It is the tom-tom shaped.²

4. *Maddavīna*—An ornament was hanging from the kamarabandha.

Paṭakā—The paṭakās were made from various materials and worn in many artistic ways. The paṭakas made of “Vīḷiva (made from the woven bamboo fibres), leather (charmapaṭṭa), dussapatta (woollen cloth), plaited woollen cloth (dussavenī), fringed cloth (dussavaṭṭi), cloth from chola, intertwined stripes of chola-cloth (cholaveni) and frings imported from Chola (Chola-vaṭṭi), plaited strips of cotton cloth (sattavaṭṭhi) and twisted yarn were worn.”³

Dress of Kings and Queens

The Kings also used three garments, ‘uttariya’, ‘antariya’ and ‘ushṇisha’. Their garment was attractive and decorative. They wore many types of ornaments. Sometimes ‘uttarāsaṅga’ was not used but other two garments were always worn.

The queens also used the ‘dhoti’ and ‘kañchuka’. The scene of Māyā Devī's dream is depicted at Bharhut Stupa. She wears dhoti up to the knees.

Kauṭilya has mentioned ‘Kañchukī’ who was presenter of the King's coat.⁴

Dress of hunters

The hunters wore full sleeved tunic. The sleeves are rolled to the elbow. The kilt is also worn below the waist with a kamarabandha. They also used cross-straps to carry their quiver, and turban as a head-dress. Sometimes, they used short drawers held round the waist with a string, from which hang a piece of cloth like a ‘paṭakā’.

Dress of Soldiers

The soldiers wore a full sleeved or half sleeved tunic reaching the knees. They wore short dhoti as loin cloth. In Bharhut sculpture, a soldier has worn shoes also.⁵

1. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 14.

2. *Ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 14.

3. *Chullavagga*, X. 10.1., Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 14.

4. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 41.

5. Cunnigham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXXII, 4.

CHAPTER II

Male Garments

The garments worn by the males in ancient India are not fundamentally different from those of the modern people. They used two pieces of cloth to cover their body, one for the upper part and the other for the lower. Due to tropical climate, Indians usually wore cotton cloth. According to Nearchus,¹ the Indians used two garments of cotton, "an under garment of cotton which reaches below the knees half-way down to ankles, and upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twisted in folds round their head." Sometimes they used only one piece of cloth wrapped around waist and its rest portion being thrown on the shoulders. The dhotī was secured at the waist by another piece of cloth which is known as 'kamarbandha'. On the head, the men usually wore turbans which were fastened in many elaborate patterns.

Mauryan Period

In the Mauryan Period, the archaeological materials are so very scanty that it becomes very hard to give an idea of male dress of this period. There are some Yaksha statues found from Mathurā and Patna regions. Four Yaksha statues have been discovered by Dr. V. S. Agrawala which he considers of early Śuṅga period.²

The *Arthasastra* of Kauṭilya describes in detail only the materials of dress and does not mention any thing about the types of dress of his period. But in the woollen clothes he refers to term 'Vārabāṇa' and 'Sampuṭikā', which may mean coat³ and trousers, respectively.

Lower-Garment

The Patna Yaksha⁴ wears the 'dhotī' like a broad piece of cloth which covers the lower part of body (III. IV). A peculiar feature of this garment is the absence of 'kachchha' so that the hind pleats do not appear at the back. It is wrapped in simple manner around the loin and one loop of the 'dhotī' is raised upwards and tucked in right side coming over the first wrap (fig. 2). Under this garment, another under garment is also worn, the lower portion of which is seen in

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1. Mc. Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 224.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, "Four New Yaksha Statues", S. I. A., p. 133.
 3. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 89.
 4. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. X.

the front. Both garments are secured by a decorated 'kamarabandha' of which the knot appears at front in middle, which is similar to that of the Bharhut Yakshas.¹ The loop formed at the front of 'kamara-bandha' of the Patna headless Yaksha is longer than that of the other. Ghurye says, "In the figure of Patna Yaksha the upper wrap is not formed by the 'dupaṭṭā' but by a separate piece of cloth like the one which is first wrapped round the lower part. It is actually broader than the under wrap; and its low hang at the back adds to the opulent ease of the figure. In the front it is closely drawn in at the two sides of the waist thereby producing those transverse or oblique folds which are so beloved of Indians and used to be so also of the Greek and the Bactrians and to some extent of the Romans. He has donned and intricately worked tubular girdle which he has knotted at the centre fairly simply".² An Amarāvati statue³ wears the dress somewhat in the manner of the Patna Yaksha. In the Parakham Yaksha (fig. 1), "The lower part of the body is swathed in a 'dhoti' which appears to have been without patterned borders. It is broad enough almost to touch the ground at the back of the figure, where over the buttocks it sweeps smoothly as there are no hind pleats to out into the smooth sweep. At the front very stiff but fairly ample pleats are formed breadth-wise out of the portion remaining over after the 'dhoti' was wrapped round the waist once".⁴ Dhoti is secured by a sash the ends of which appear between the legs. At the back, the lower garment is similar to Patna Yaksha. In both the Yakshas, the 'Kachchha' is absent. A Bombay Yaksha⁵ wears the 'dhoti', the pleats of which hang between the legs touching the ground. In the Mauryan Sculpture, it is seen that lower garment at the back completely hides the back view of the statues. Thus the train of the lower garment at the back recalls the technique of Mauryan art. We can conclude that in the Mauryan period the 'dhoti' was worn without any hind pleats. In Parakham Yaksha, in front a lappets between the legs indicates the feature of the Śunga period. This, therefore, is an anticipation of the same feature which is seen in the later Indian sculptures.

Upper Garment

The figure of the Parakham Yaksha from Mathura⁶ wears a piece of sash like 'dupaṭṭā', folded in neat manner and tied at left side around the body below the chest (fig. 1). Except it, there is no other garment on the upper portion of body. The both dangling loop of it are touching the thighs. Bachhofer has named it as a second girdle.⁷ One girdle secures the lower garment in position and it is another.

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1. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. XIX.
 2. G. S. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 82.
 3. *Ibid.*, figs. 287, 288.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
 5. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 69.
 6. L. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. IX.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The Baroda Yaksha¹ also wears the 'dupaṭṭā' in the same style. The Bombay Yaksha (find place Sopārā) discovered by Prof. V. S. Agrawala, is represented as wearing the scarf in a peculiar manner (fig. 8.). He interprets as : "A heavy flat scarf is arranged in front of the legs in a conspicuous loop similar to that of flat pendant necklace. The long ends of the scarf are indicated on the back".² The Palwala Yaksha also discovered by him wears the scarf. "There are traces of scarf looped on the right elbow".³ The Patna Yaksha⁴ (Ill. IV) wears the 'uttariya' thrown on the left shoulder. At front it looks like some portion of the lower garment thrown over the left shoulder and covering some portion of lower garment on right side. But after seeing the back view of this statue, it is clear that it is another piece of cloth, which is worn in 'Vaikakshyaka'⁵ manner in which dupaṭṭa runs from the right side to left shoulder leaving bare right shoulder. The hanging portion of the 'uttariya' on back is touching the ground and the front loop on left shoulder is very short. Ghurye has described drapery of this yaksha in the following words : "his ample upper cloth, 'dupaṭṭa' he has worn sedately in the standard mode. The one departure he has effected is in the matter of the treatment of that end which generally is allowed to fall in front. By giving a fold to the portion that remains over after reaching the left shoulder and turning it upon itself he has brought the end over the back. There both the ends of a rather long piece of cloth hang straight down to the ground, imparting to the portly figure the much needed verticality".⁶ Another Patna Yaksha⁷ also wears the 'uttariya' in the same manner with the front loop on left shoulder (fig. 7).

Śuṅga Period :

Lower Garment

In the Śuṅga period, men generally wore a short 'dhoti'⁸ which was wrapped round the waist, secured by another piece of cloth which is known as 'phenta'. From the sculptures of the Bharhut, Bodhgayā, sāñchī and Mathurā, we have come to know that the male persons usually wore the 'dhoti' upto the knees. In some cases, a long 'dhoti' is also seen, which extends below the knees and calf. Generally, the 'dhoti' was worn with 'sakachchha' manner. In this mode of wearing, the 'dhoti' is fastened around the waist and one of the lower ends comes

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1. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 184.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, "Four Yaksha Statues", S. I. A., p. 133, fig. 69.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
 4. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. X.
 5. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 125.
 6. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 82.
 7. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. X.
 8. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 17. Dhavalikar has identified 'short dhoti' as 'ordhoruka'.

between the legs and tucked in back side with hind pleats. The figures of Kubera¹, Suchiloma² and Gangita³ Yakshas appear to wear 'dhoti' reaching below the knees. In the scene the Ajatasatru Pillar⁴, at Bharhut, depicts fifteen worshippers wearing 'dhoti' as reaching up to the knees. But on some railing pillar depictions,⁵ male persons wear the 'dhoti' reaching below the thigh only⁶ (fig. 18). In all the scenes 'dhoti' is fastened around the waist. One loop of 'dhoti' is tucked in front and surplus portion of it comes from right side to the front, where its loop is tucked and then appears to be treated lengthwise as formed into several superimposed pleats which hang between the legs and one of the lower end tucked in at back side forming a 'hind pleat' between the buttocks. In the scene of the Ajātaśatru pillar from Bharhut, the back hind pleats are clearly seen which are very tight between the legs so there is no loose end of the lower garment. It is also noticed that the pleats are neither very broad nor very narrow. In the scene of the Bodhi tree worship at Sānchī,⁷ the worshippers have rather broad hind pleats than at Bharhut. In the Sānchī⁸ and Bodhgayā⁹ sculptures also, 'dhoti' is worn in the same manner in which a long tuft hangs between the legs reaching the ankles. In the Yakshas figures of Bharhut, superimposed pleats are formed in an artistic manner which looks like a decorative 'paṭakā' (fig. 14). In the Jetavan scene depicted at Bodhgayā,¹⁰ the labourers who are spreading the coins, are wearing the 'dhoti' as lower garment. The length of 'dhoti' is very short and reaches only up to the thighs. Probably this type of dhoti was comfortable for workers. The Balrāma statue,¹¹ from Mathura, wears 'śāṭaka'¹² (dhoti) around the waist, one lower end of which is tucked in behind and some portions of 'dhoti' appear to be treated lengthwise, formed into some pleats and tucked in front. A long dangling portion is left free between the legs below the knees. The lower end of hanging 'paṭṭa' is of triangular shape (fig. 3). In the Bharhut sculptures also, the front portion falls in angular form¹³ (fig. 17, III. XXII). Sometimes it takes the shape of a

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1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII, a.
 2. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII, b.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, a.
 4. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, Fig. 157.
 5. R. C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Bharhut Reliefs in the Indian Museum", *Lalit Kala*, No. 14, Pls. XVIII, fig. 3; XIX, fig. 6; XX, fig. 10.
 6. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. 11; N. P. Joshi, L.A.U., fig. 395.
 7. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. VII, 2.
 8. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII, fig. 2.
 9. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture De Bodhgaya*, pls. X, 6; XII.
 13. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, pl. VIII.
 11. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 370.
 12. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 128.
 13. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 30.

vertical folds¹ (fig. 16). Sometimes the long portion of dhoti is tucked in front forming (Kākshyādhika-kshiptapallava).² The male guardian, eastern gateway of Sanchi³, wears 'śāṭaka' tied at waist with 'Kākshyādhika-kshiptapallava'. The forth-coming portion of 'śāṭaka' comes from back side to front and fastened in front forming a loop on left side and the rest portion of it is left free to dangle between the legs touching the ground surface. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted it as 'phālīpaṭa'⁴. This type of tucking the 'dhoti' in front is also seen in figure of Chakra Vartina, ruler of world depicted in Jaggayyapeṭa.⁵ The dangling portion, which looks bifurcated, is not touching the ground, it reaches only above the ankles (fig. 30).

The Kharamukha Yaksha from Pauni⁶ wears the 'dhoti' in simple way up to the knees (fig. 12). Some pleats are seen in front. Dhoti is fastened around the waist by a girdle (nīvi).⁷

An interesting mode of wearing the lower garment is seen in the figure of 'dvārapāla', depicted at Sānchi⁸ who is seen wearing a diaphanous dhoti reaching little below the calf. The lower garment is fluttering on both sides of the legs. Dhoti has been worn round the waist in very simple manner without any pleats anywhere and at front the loop of right side is thrown over the left hand and a long flowing tuft in left loosely hanging down (Ill. XXVII, fig. 15).

A mithuna plaque from Ahichchhatra,⁹ male on left side and female on right side, male wears 'dhoti' with parallel oblique folds on the right leg and vertical folds on the left. These types of folds are seen in the figure of Indra, Bodhgayā¹⁰.

Sometimes the men are seen wearing loin cloth, a very short piece of cloth which covers only the loins. In the scene of royal couple, Indra and Saci, Cave IX, Ajantā,¹¹ Indra has worn the loin cloth or 'lungī' as a lower garment. In a

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1. Barua, *Bharhut.*, fig. 128.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 26.
 3. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 58.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 83.
 5. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
 6. S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, No. 1, fig. 11, no. 3.
 7. *Ashtadhyayi*, IV, 3.40.; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 129.
 8. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. LXVI, a.; Louise Federic, *Indian Temples and Sculpture*, pl. 34.
 9. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly", *Ancient India*, no. 4, p. 110., pl. 12.
 10. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 39.
 11. G. S. Churye, *Indian Costume*, fig. 252, p. 98.

Murtaziganj ring stone, a man worshipping the mother-goddess, is represented wearing 'ordhoruka'. Dr. P. K. Agrawala interprets it as 'priestly garment of a kilt like stripped 'lungī' or short 'dhoti'¹. The Kosam Yaksha also appears to wear the 'lungī' i.e. a small piece of cloth round the loin and secured by a belt at the waist ²

In the scene of the Shyāmā Jātaka³ depicted in the Cave X, Ajantā the man wears 'tahamad'-like lower garment which is worn around the waist up to the knees (fig 22). It looks like a modern skirt without any plait. On the waist a 'kamarabandha' is also tied. It may be a sewn garment because the fall of the skirt is bordered. A coin figure of one Indo Greek ruler on the coin wears the stripped skirt from the waist to knees (fig. 23). 'Kamarabandha' or 'phenṭā' is absent. The strips of the skirt is vertical. The lower end of every strip looks like a curve. In the scene of the musicians and orchestra, at Sāñchī,⁴ some wear 'tahamad'-like lower garment which reaches the knees (Ill. XXXVI). Dhavalikar⁵ has interpreted it as a tight fitting trousers of the 'svasthān' type. According to Dr. Moti Chandra,⁶ it is one piece garment which covers the upper and lower part of body like a 'kañchuka'. In another scene of Sāñchī,⁷ men are seen wearing lungi like loin cloth up to the knees. It is a piece of cloth which is tied on right side by the help of a 'tanī. (fig. 24, Ill. XXXI). The 'tanī' is tied in the 'bow knot'.

Sometimes, men wear a short piece of cloth which covers only the private part of body.⁸ In the Amarāvati sculpture⁹ a child wears 'chaddhī'. It is a cut and sewn garment.

The ascetics wear the 'kaupīna' which covers the private parts only¹⁰ (fig. 25). Sometimes the ascetics tied their legs with the body by 'yogapaṭṭa'¹¹ (Ill. XXXII). Yogapaṭṭa is also seen in the Bharhut sculpture¹² (fig. 28). The ascetics wear the bark of tree (valkala) or leaves (phalaka). In the scene of the Migapotaka

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1. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. M. G. V. D., fig. 25, p. 98.
 2. G. S. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, fig. 181, p. 88.
 3. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 3.
 4. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. 'X.
 5. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 25
 6. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 85, fig. 109.
 7. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XII, figs. 1, 2.
 8. Barua, *Buddhagayā*, fig. 43 (i).
 9. Bachhofer, B. I. S. pl. 107.
 10. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XII, 1,2.
 11. *Ibid.*, pl. XII, fig. 2.
 12. Cunningham, Bharhut, pl. XLVI. above; Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 26, above.

Jātaka,¹ Bharhut, a man is represented wearing the skirt like lower garment, which looks very thick (fig. 27). Possibly, it is made of 'valkala'. In another scene of Bharhut,² an ascetic male person wears the loin cloth as a lower garment. It is a stripped kilt made of valkals (III. XIX). Cunningham is of opinion that it is like the regular Buddhists 'Saṅghātī', which was made of numerous strips of cloth sewn together.³ In Mathurā sculptures, a Brāhmaṇa man wears the 'valkala'.⁴ Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray⁵ has also referred to it saying that it was made of leaves and grass. Dr. Dhavalikar has interpreted the scene of ascetics depicted in Sāncī sculptures, 'the ascetics are shown wearing a lower garment which from its schematic, rib-like folds, appears to be the bark of tree while, at the same time, the possibility of its being made of grass can also not be ruled out. Garments made of bark of trees or grass have a high antiquity in India.'⁶

A figure depicted at Torana architrave, from Kouśāmbī has worn a leaf as a lower garment⁷ (fig. 29).

Kamarbanda or Phenta

The 'dhoti' is held in position at the waist with a piece of sash which is known as belt, 'parikar', or 'kākshyabandhan'. The 'belt' is generally knotted in the centre at front and its two usual arms are allowed to dangle over the front pleats. In the Bharhut Sculptures⁸ a flat belt is tied in knot formed into a bow shape with a loop hanging on one side and two free arms on the other side. In some cases, the loop of knot is on left side and both ends of belt on right side at front above the knees. The both dangling ends are not equal in length. In the figure of Chakavāka Nāga⁹ a loop is formed horizontally at the waist (fig. 19) while in other statue of Yaksha,¹⁰ it is hanging down (figs. 20, 21). Generally, the belt is of plain cloth and tied in simple knot e.g. Bodhgayā sculptures.¹¹ The belt of Suchiloma Yaksha¹² is decorated with beaded motifs (fig. 21), while the belt of Kuber Yaksha¹³ (fig. 20) is only bordered. In some cases, loop is formed on right

1. Barua, *Barhut* pl. XIII, 118.
2. Cunningham, *Bharhut* pl. XXVI, fig. 7.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
4. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. II.
5. Nihar Ranjan Ray, *Maurya and Mauryottara Kalā*, p. 89.
6. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 12, p. 19.
7. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXX, fig. 77a.
8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pls. XXI & XXII.
9. Cunningham, *Op. cit.* pl. XXI.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.
11. Coomaraswamy—*Bodhgayā*, pls. V, 9; IX; X, 6; XI.
12. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII, b.
13. *Ibid.*, p. XXII, a.

side and both free ends are seen on left side.¹ The waist belt of Sanchi sculptures differs from the Bodhgaya & Bharhut Sculptures in the nature and central knot. About the belt of flywhisk bearer² and royal personage³ (III. XXVIII) from Sāñchi, Ghurye⁴ interpretes : “one end of their belt is rather long, so that we can observe its elephantine trunk-like tie below the front pleats of ‘dhoti’, extending lower down”. Mostly the belt is tied in centre but it is also seen that it is tied on left or right side. The terracotta figurines from Ahichchhatra,⁵ Kauśāmbī⁶ and Mathurā⁷ have their belt knotted on left side. Another terracotta figurine from Kauśāmbī⁸ wears the rope-like waist belt knotted on right side. An ornamental tassel also hangs from the knot. The ropelike belt is also seen in a Pauni Sculpture (fig. 12).⁹ The belt of another Yaksha statue of Pauni¹⁰ is knotted in such a very artistic manner that a small bunch has been formed on right side, with dangling ends on left side (fig. 6). Sometimes the kamarabanda is tied forming a loop on left side. Below the loop a rounded tassel is attached (fig. 13).¹¹

Upper Garment

To cover the upper part of body the people used a piece of cloth which is known as ‘uttariya’, ‘uttarāsaṅga’, ‘uttarāśāṭaka’ and ‘uparivasana’ etc.¹² Pāṇini has referred to it as ‘prāvāra’¹³ and ‘brihatika.’¹⁴ Dr. V. S. Agrawala¹⁵ has interpreted that the term ‘prāvāra’ and ‘brihatikā’ were used in the sense of ‘acchādana’. Upper garment was a long piece of cloth of variable length. There are many styles of wearing the scarf. It was worn around the waist or the neck or over the shoulders or arms. According to Nearchus “..... .. they throw partly over the shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head”.¹⁶ Basham’s opinion is that “the upper garment was often discarded in the home, or in hot weather, especially by the lower orders.”¹⁷ Majumdar also agrees with this opinion.¹⁸

1. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 2.
2. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, fig. 177.
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 179.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
5. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 81.
6. *Ibid.*, fig. 75.
7. *Ibid.*, fig. 119.
8. *Ibid.*, fig. 76.
9. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, XXV, no. 1, fig 11, No- 3.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, no. 2, fig. 11, no. 7, p. 47.
11. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 112.
12. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 117.
13. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, III, 3.54.
14. *Ibid.*, V, 4.6.
15. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 130.
16. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., p. 571.
17. A. L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, p. 212.
18. R. C. Majumdar, A. I. U., p. 571.

The standard mode of putting on the scarf is 'ekānsika' manner, in which one shoulder is left bare. One end of it is thrown on one shoulder and remaining portion of length runs diagonalwise across the chest to other side and turns to back where it also runs diagonally and falls on the shoulder to front where one end of the scarf hangs on back (fig. 9). In this manner, on the one shoulder both ends hang, one in front and other at back. Usually the scarf was worn in 'vaikakshyaka' manner in which the scarf is on left shoulder leaving right shoulder bare (fig. 9). There are many examples of this style which is seen in the sculptures of Bodhagaya² Bharhut,³ Pitalkhora,⁴ Besnagar,⁵ Bhājā.⁶ The statue of Kuber Yaksha,⁷ Bharhut seems to wear the scarf in very standard manner, the schematically pleated dupuṭṭā lengthwise is thrown on left shoulder. The hanging end in front is very long near the knee.⁸ It is also noticed that it was not uncommon to wear the scarf on right shoulder, the reverse of 'vaikakshyaka' manner. In the scene of C'hakravartī, Jaggayyapeṭa⁹ stupa, the minister has wrapped the scarf on right shoulder and the ends of it are fluttering on the left side just below the knees, a little far away from the knee. The ends of the scarf are cut in reverse 'V' shape. Bharhut,¹⁰ Bodhgaya¹¹ and Bhājā sculptures are not different from this mode. The uttariya of watchman of Bājā¹² is very narrow sash. Sometimes the scarf runs across the chest and covers the major part of body leaving one shoulder bare.¹³ In Kushan period some of the Buddhist figures and lay worshippers have worn their scarf in this style with slight variation in the arrangement of the other end.¹⁴ In a scene of Sāñchī,¹⁵ Brahmins wear very broad scarf, one lace of which touches the armpit and other touches the loin cloth or covers some portion of loin cloth (fig. 44, III. XXXII). In few cases, the scarf is worn forming the loop on the shoulder. The Manibhadra Yaksha, appears to wear the scarf "thrown over the left shoulder forming several loops"¹⁶ (figs. 4, 5).

1. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, p. 125.
2. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pl. X, 6.
3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XII, a.
4. Moti Chandra, S.S.P.W.M., p. 7.
5. R. C. Agrawala, 'Unpublished Yaksha and Yakshini statues from Besnagar', *Lalit Kala*, No. 14, p. XIV, 2.
6. Bachhofer, E.I.S., pl. 63.
7. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XII, a.
8. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 16.
9. Bachhofer, E.I.S., pl. 107.
10. Pramod Chandra, S.S.A.M., pl. VII, Fig. 19.
11. Barua, *Buddhagayā*, fig. 72.
12. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63.
13. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XLIX, 5.
14. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 151.
15. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. XII.
16. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 388, p. 147.

There are another mode of wearing the scarf in which the scarf looks like a necklace. The figure of Suchiloma Yaksha¹ has put on the dupaṭṭā round the neck in such a manner that in front it appears like a long necklace. Its loop is lying below the region of ribs. Its two ends are thrown at the back covering both the shoulders (fig. 51). It is a common style and is seen in Bharhut,² Bodhgayā,³ Mathurā⁴ and Kauśāmbī⁵, sculptures. In terracottas also this style is seen.⁶ In the coin of Indo-Greek ruler Agathocles from Ai-Khanum,⁷ it seems to be the same mode with slight variation in throwing the scarf on shoulder. In this case the both remaining portion hang at the back covering the upper portion of upper arm. The Gangita Yaksha⁸ wears the scarf schematically folded lengthwise, in 'V' shape necklace. This mode of wearing the scarf is also noticed in the figure of Chakravartī, Jaggayyapeṭa Stupa.⁹ The figure depicted on the ancient loṭa of Kullu¹⁰ shows the males wearing the scarf in the same manner. But there is some difference in throwing the right end of the scarf. The left end of the scarf falls at back from left shoulder but right end runs under the same arm-pit to back side and suspends in front from the right shoulder (fig. 52). The loop of 'uttariya' in the front is above the chest.

A terracotta figure, Ahichchhatra wraps "the elaborate scarf with minute folds arranged on right shoulder across the chest and in a loop on the left shoulder".¹¹

Sometimes the uttariya or 'dupaṭṭā' is worn from the back and both ends hanged in front or sides covering shoulders, arms or wrists in different modes : (i) The scarf is wrapped covering the nape of neck from behind, remaining portion suspended in front¹² (fig. 53), (ii) The left end covers the left fore-arm and right end covers the raised right upper arm¹³ (fig. 45), (iii) One end hangs over the right fore-arm near the elbow and one end is in left hand.¹⁴ (iv) The right end is thrown covering the upper arm near the elbow and left end hangs over the left upper arm

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1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII, p.
 2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII.
 3. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pl. XVIII.
 4. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 5.
 5. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., p. XXVI, fig. 71.
 6. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 72, 83.
 7. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 125,
 8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI.
 9. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
 10. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 127.
 11. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly", *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 118, fig. 48.
 12. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 95.
 13. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIX, fig. 2.
 14. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXVI, fig. 70.

in front side.¹ (v) "End brought forward, but only the right end is thrown backward while the left end covering the same arm, is suspended in front"² (fig. 48), (vi) "Both the end of the scarf are brought forward under the arm-pit, the right one allowed to pass on the right shoulder and fall below, the left one passing across the chest to right shoulder to fall similarly"³ (vii) "Both ends of the scarf passing round the back are brought forward under the armpit to chest; and then passing along the chest are thrown backwards on both the shoulder."⁴ (viii) "Both ends are brought forward, the left end covers the left fore arm but the right end has been caught by the upraised right hand and is being waved in the air as a sign of joy"⁵ (fig. 49). This known as "Chaila-vikshepa,"⁶ (ix) "Both the ends are brought as above and thrown back-wards over the shoulder forming a cross on the chest".⁷ (fig. 47). Sometimes, both ends are brought forward and thrown on both the hands in sides⁸ (fig. 10)

In the statue of Dvārapāla, Pitalkhora⁹ has worn the scarf in 'chhannavira' manner. Deshpande has interpreted it, 'from over the left shoulder run down the schematic folds of the upper garment (uttariya) crossing the decorated belt (Channavira) which comes down from the right shoulder'.¹⁰

Sometimes the scarf is worn in such a manner that one end of the scarf falls over the left upper arm and other comes in front from right side and forms a loop at front on thighs and is dangling from left wrist also in a loop.¹¹ Sometimes the scarf or dupaṭṭā was worn round the waist forming a loop in front hanging in remaining ends.¹² Sometimes one of these ends was held in hand¹³ (III. XXVIII).

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1. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 64.
 2. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 64, 409, p. 149.
 3. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 413, p. 149.
 4. *Ibid.*, fig. 406, p. 149; Barua, *Barhut* fig. 18.
 5. *Ibid.*, fig. 399, p. 147.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
 7. *Ibid.*, fig. 408, p. 149; Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 9, a.
 8. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 5.
 9. Gunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI, c.
 10. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, p. 82.
 11. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pls. 18, 19.
 12. Marshall and Foucher, *Sānchi* pl. 36; N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 149, fig. 389.
 13. Marshall and Foucher, *Sānchi*, pl. 23.

Sometimes seated Brahamins wear the scarf round the waist and knees together.¹ Dr. Moti Chandra has identified it as an 'āyogapaṭṭa'¹ (figs. 26, 28, III. XXXII).

Sometimes the 'uttariya' was worn over the upper garment like a 'tunic' or 'coat'. In a case 'uttariya' is worn in 'vaikakshaya' manner over the coat³ (fig. 37). In a scene of orchestra depicted at Sānchī, men wear the scarf over the tunic. In this case the scarf is tied in front on the chest covering the nape of the neck, and the remaining portion fluttering at back (fig. 11). Dr. V. S. Agrawala⁴ has explained this type of scarf as a 'āchchhādanaka'.

Sewn Garments

Sometimes the male persons wear the sewn garments like 'kañchuka', 'kurtā', 'Jāghiyān', 'skirt', 'kūrpāsaka' etc. In the Sānchī sculptures there are many depictions of sewn garments worn by soldiers, body-guards of the Kings, hunters, flag bearers and foreigners worshipping the stupa. According to Dr. Moti Chandra, in Bharhut, coat like garment is represented in two scenes only.⁵ But in another scene also (scene of Ārāmadūsa Jataka,⁶ coat is seen worn by the man. In Bharhut sculptures, a figure of soldier⁷ which is identified by Barua as the representation of Sun-god, Mihir of Uttarapath, has been represented as wearing the long coat reaching just above the knees (III. XVI). The coat is full sleeved with opening in front. The open sides on the thighs are curved. It is tied at two places by cords (fastener with tassels), one at the neck with single bow knot and other across the stomach by double bow knot.⁸ On the outside of lower architrave of gallery, Bharhut, a scene in which a royal figure identified by Barua as King Dhanabhuti,⁹ the builder of Bharhut gateway, is depicted worshipping a Bo-tree. The attendants of the king wear a full sleeved coat whose sides at the ends are rounded. The collars, sleeves, cuffs and open ends of the coat are trimmed with ribbons. He wears a dhotī as a lower garment. In the scene of Ārāmadūsa Jātaka,¹⁰ the male wears the full sleeved coat reaching the knees fastened at the waist by a girdle. A terracotta male figurine from Bhīṭā¹¹ also wears the same type of coat with sleeves,

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1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. 46, above; Maisey, *Sānchī*, pl. XII, fig. 2.
 2. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 13.
 3. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 16.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 186, fig. 80.
 5. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 68.
 6. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXXIII, 95.
 7. *Ibid.*, pl. LXII, 71.
 8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 68.
 9. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XX.
 10. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXXIII, 95.
 11. A. S. I., 1911-12, pl. XXII, fig. 19, p. 74.

and provided with loop and knot to fasten it across the chest. It looks like a modern 'Chogā'. A figure of royal man depicted in Gaṇeśha Guphā wears¹ a close fitting long coat reaching below the kness. The coat is full sleeved and is tied at the waist by a band (fig. 31). Prof. V. S. Agrawala has explained it as a 'Vārabāṇa'.² It is a kind of coat similar to 'Kañchuka' but only long up to the kness.³

Sometimes the men wear the coat upto the waist and kilt or skirt below the wāist. In the scene of group of the persons of foreign origin worshipping the stupa depicted at Sāñchī,⁴ men wear the coat of loose sleeves reaching upto the mid of wrist and elbow, and upto the waist. The coat is not open in front. A mantle is knotted in the front near neck (III.XXXVI). They wear 'tahamad' like garment below the waist. At the waist a broad band is seen which is the border of 'tahamad'. Dr. Moti Chandra has said that they have worn one garment i.e. 'Kañchuka' reaching the knees. But they appear to have worn two garments one 'coat' like garment to cover the upper part and another 'tahamad' to cover the lower part (fig 33). Same type of garment is worn by a soldier in another scene.⁵ But in this scene he wears a dhotī below the waist. Upper garment is same as above. The figures of archers⁶ have worn the coat upto the waist with sleeves (III.XXXV). The coat of one archer is full sleeved (fig. 34) while the coat of another archer is half sleeved. Below the waist, kilt is worn. A figure of male of foreign origin riding on 'makar' depicted at Stupa III of Sāñchī⁷ wears coat reaching only the waist and drawer (Jāghiyān) upto the knees (fig. 36). The coat is closed in front. The neck of the coat is rounded and bordered. According to Dr. V. S. Agrawala's⁸ interpretation of 'kūrpāsaka', it might have been a 'kūrpāsaka'.

A figure of soldier dwelling with the lion depicted at the railing of Sāñchī⁹ (fig. 32) wears the half-sleeved Kūrpāsaka and pleated skirt reaching upto the knees (III. XXXIII). In another scene,¹⁰ the man wears the sleeveless 'kūrpāsaka' and pleated skirt. Two animal riders on the northern gateway of Sanchi¹¹ are

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1. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 298.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
 3. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Haraha*, p. 183.
 4. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. X.
 5. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XXII, fig. 2.
 6. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. 36, 1.
 7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 970.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 185.
 9. Dr. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 48, p. 68;
Coomarswamy, H. I. I. A., pl. 14, 51.
 10. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 91.
 11. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 19.

shown wearing tight-fitting, full sleeved coat. The coat of the rider on the left is round-necked while that of the other is 'V' shaped and both have a middle opening. Their lower garment is not seen distinctly. Dr. Moti Chandra writes¹ "In the Indra Relief at Bhājā the standard bearer seated behind Indra who is riding the elephant Airāvata, wears a long-sleeved tunic with crenellated end. The tunic as usual is held round the waist by a kamarabandha".

The figures of hunter Sonuttara and his friends depicted in the cave no. X, Ajantā, wear the 'kañchuka'.² The friend of Sonuttara has worn the stripped 'kanchuka' cut of triangular neck and quarter sleeved (fig. 40). The 'kanchuka' of Sonuttara is of dotted designs cut of rounded neck (fig. 41). In the painting of Syāmā Jātaka,³ the soldiers wear the full-sleeved 'kurtā' with thin fastener near the neck (fig. 42). In the same scene a soldier wears the full sleeved 'kurtā' of 'V' shaped neck. Another soldier wears the quarter-sleeved 'kurta' reaching to the knees and fastened at the waist by a band which hangs in front (fig. 39). This looks like a modern 'frock'. The Rājghāt Yaksha figure wears "the 'kurtā' like garment falling to the knees".⁴ But Dr. P. K. Agrawala⁵ has said that the upper portion of body is bare. There is no kurtā like garment. Below the waist he has worn a dhotī.

A dvārapāla of Pitalkhora⁶ also has worn the close-fitting tunic reaching to the thighs tied at the waist (fig. 38). A figure of man depicted at Sanchi wears the tunic of full sleeves gathered into narrow stripped upto the waist.⁷ The tunic is not open in front (fig. 43, I11.XXXIV).

It is noteworthy that Bharhut, Sānchī and Bodhgayā are almost contemporary but there is no evidence of coat like garment in Bodhgayā.

Shoes—There are only a few depictions of shoes present in Bharhut and Sānchī sculpture. It is represented only in figures of foreigners. It should not be, however, concluded from this that the Indians did not wear shoes. There are many literary evidences that show the shoes of various forms and material were commonly used. Their absence in Bharhut, Bodhgayā and Sanchi is due to religious reasons. The use of shoes at the time of worship must have been prohibited in

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1. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 19.
 2. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., figs. 123, 124.
 3. Madanjeet Singh, C. F. A., fig. 3.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 41, p. 135.
 5. P. K. Agrawala, "Triple Yaksha Statue from Rajghat", *Chhavi*, 1976, p. 341.
 6. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. II. A., p. 75.
 7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sānchī*, pl. LXXVIII, 23, b.

ancient India as today. The figures represented there are related to worship or to sacred stories, so they have been purposely represented without foot wear.

In the scene of foreign musicians, all of them wear the foot wear what looks like top boots with braces fastened all around and upto the ankles (fig. 54). Such boots have been referred to as 'khapusā', or Persian boots.¹ A soldier depicted at Sāñchī² wears the full boots up the 'gulpha' (Ill. XXXIII). At the top a beaded border is represented (fig. 51). According to Dr. Moti Chandra, it is 'pāligum-thima'.³ In Bharhut sculpture, a figure of soldier⁴ is represented wearing the boots covering the mid leg tied by a fastener, the tassels of which hang in front (fig. 55, Ill. XVI). A royal figure depicted at Gaṇesa cave⁵ wears the heavy shoes covering the 'gulpha' (fig. 58). A figure on a coin of Indo Greek Ruler Agathocles wears the pointed shoes⁶ (fig. 56). In Vesvantara Jataka⁷ (Nothern gateway) a King is represented wearing a 'chappala'. It is simple chappala of two straps joined at the point between first and second toe and is similar to the modern chappala.

1. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 39.

2. *Ibid.*, fig. 48, Coomarswamy, H. I. I. A., pl. 14,51.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

4. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXXII, 4.

5. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 298.

6. P. K. Agrawal, E. I. B., pl. 125.

7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī* pl. XXLX, refer Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 27.

CHAPTER III

Female Garments

In India the use of dress by women is noticed from the time of Indus valley down to the present day. Generally, two or three garments were used by females during the Vedic, Brahmanical and Buddhist periods and they loved coloured and matching dresses. Mostly the women used sārī as a lower garment. The art of wearing was well developed and it is fairly certain that the sārī was a long piece, about five or six yards in length.¹ For covering the upper part of body, another piece of cloth was used which is known as 'uttariya' or 'Uttarāsaṅga'. But the upper garment was used only on ceremonious occasions. In a passage of the *Mahābhārata*, when Draupadi, the wife of Pāṇḍavas, was brought into the gambling hall of the Kauravas, she had put on only one garment², Probably her bust was bare. She must have put on some portion of the sārī on the bust, because 'Draupadi when dragged out of her garment by Dussasana, is described as having the upper part of her sārī falling down'.³ The additional upper garment was not absolutely necessary to cover the bust. Prof. G. S. Ghurye writes, "It is clear from the *Mahābhārata* that slaves, maid servants, and even royal ladies during special periods did not and could not use the loose upper garment. The upper wrap thus had come to be looked upon as a mark of gentility."⁴ Head dress was not a common item of female attire. Women are rarely seen wearing a 'ushnīsha' in the Bharhut, Sāñchī and other contemporary sculptures. Though a head dress as a turban went out of fashion, women used 'orhani' to cover their head which falls gracefully over their shoulders and back. Probably the head dress was used only occasionally.

Mauryan Period

During this period there is a shortage of sculptural evidence. Only Besnagar⁵ and Didarganj⁶ Yakshis throw light on the costume of female of this period. The terracottas are generally representative of common people and as such, they are very helpful for the study of the dress.

The Didarganj Yakshi is the best example of Mauryan period. The sari is worn without hind pleats being formed. The mode agrees entirely with the manner

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1. Altekar, P. W. H. C., p. 279.
 2. *Mahābhārata*, 11, 89.44.
 3. *Ibid.*, II, 89.47; Altekar, P. W. H. C., p. 279.
 4. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 67.
 5. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 61.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. 9.

of dhoti-wearing of the male Yakshas. Seen from behind a single sweep appears over the waist and reveals almost the entire contour of the buttocks, and has some transverse folds formed in the material owing to the front tucking (III. II). The sārī is treated breadthwise and the surplus portion brought from right side to front has been tucked over, the lower portion forming an ornamental cone to dangle over (fig. 59). Dr. Moti Chandra has interpreted it as a paṭakā with one looped end tucked in loin cloth and other hanging in between the feet.¹ The sārī is held by the help of girdle. A neatly folded scarf is also worn passing over the buttocks transversally, and dangles over the right elbow, with skilful twist and whole of the surplus end flutters freely. It appears that one end of the scarf is tucked into the last three strands of girdle zone of the left thigh. The upper portion of body is naked. Spooner has described the dress of this Yakshi as, "The garment which is apparently in one piece is thin and clinging though these qualities are better remembered by the artist in fashioning the front of the image than in his treatment of the sides and back. It is worn wrapped round the hips dhoti fashion, being gathered into elaborate folds in front which caught in one long loop, fall gracefully to the feet. The left hip shows some kind of knot from which one end of the costume is then drawn up obliquely across the back to be caught in the folds of the right elbow, whence it falls at first with twisting folds, to the ground leaving the upper portion of the body quite uncovered".² The female sculpture from Besnagar (III.V) also has worn the sārī without hind pleats. The waist cloth is heavy and comes down below the knees (fig. 60). There is no train falling to the ground as in Didarganj Yakshi. There is nothing here to match the delightful folding of the drapery of the Didarganj Yakshi. Dr. Ghurye has interpreted the dress of the Besnagar Yakshi, "The lower body of the Besnagar Yakshi is swathed in a 'dhoti' in the style that we have found to be fairly common so far. One peculiarity is that the front pleats are pulled down at the abdomen rather very low, exposing to view much larger portion of the lower abdomen than the other draperies of the 'dhoti'. It must have been arranged on a waist-string as a hanger. At the back the 'dhoti' runs high and fairly horizontally so that the girdle-zone, which flatly covers the whole expanse of the buttocks lies entirely on the wrap of the 'dhoti' round the loins."³ But it seems that the front pleats are of paṭakā which is tucked in the loosely tied loin cloth. Over the garment a girdle and a kamarband is tied. The kamarband or belt of the Yakshi is much longer; after forming the knot and loop at waist in front, a long arm of her belt falls over the paṭakā to the ground. A figure depicted at the Piprahwa gold plaque⁴ wears sārī upto the ankles. The oblique folds of sari are

1. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 18.

2. Spooner, "The Didarganj Image now in Patna Museum", J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V., 1919, p. 109.

3. G. S. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 91.

4. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 35, a.

present on both legs. A female figure on the right side of Bombay Yaksha is shown wearing the sārī exposing the nudity.¹ In a Rājghāt ring stone² a figure of mother goddess is represented wearing the sārī reaching little above the ankles. A dancing girl of Patna³ (fig. 62) has worn the lower garment resembling the open feathers of bird. She has brought the surplus portion from the left to right side and forming the broader pleats, it has been tucked in at right waist. She has her dress in an extraordinary fashionable variation, bulging few inches beyond the body on the right side. Seeing the back view,⁴ it is clear that there are no hind pleats. Another dancing girl from Pāṭaliputra⁵ has worn the lower garment which flutters on both sides at various angles.

Skirt—Some contemporary terracotta are represented draped in skirts. A Mathura terracotta has a fluttering stripped skirt upto the knees.⁶ The skirt of another terracotta is decorated with punch circlets.⁷ From Patna, the dancing girls are found wearing choli (kūrpāsaka)⁸ and flowing skirt (chaṇḍātaka).⁹ A dancing girl of Bulandibag¹⁰ wears the sleeveless close-fitting 'kūrpāsaka' and fluttering skirt (fig. 63). Her skirt is tied at the waist by a belt. The skirt covers the lower portion upto the knees and consists of closed vertical pleats and some discs. One disc in the front is large. Another terracotta from Bulandibag¹¹ has worn the close-fitting 'choli' and a skirt. The skirt is tied at the waist. The length of skirt is very short, only upto the mid thigh, to which we say 'ardho-ruka'¹². Below the skirt she has worn an 'antariya' also upto the knees (fig. 61). Another girl of the same site¹³ wears the 'kūrpāsaka' and 'ghāgharā', expanding on the both side in close pleats. The skirt is decorated with rosettes.

In a Rājghāt ring stone, a female figure is represented wearing a sleeveless tunic reaching upto the knees. tied at waist by a belt (Ill. I).¹⁴

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1. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 69, p. 133.
 2. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 36, h. p. 77.
 3. *Ibid.*, fig. 16, p. 158; pl. 80, d; P. L. Gupta, P. M. C. A., pl. XXXIX.
 4. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, fig. 216.
 5. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 80, e.
 6. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhavana", *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 4.
 7. S. P. Gupta, R.I.A., pl. 78, a, b, p. 144.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deed of Harsha*, p. 150.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
 10. S. P. Gupta, R.I.A., pl. 81, b.
 11. *Ibid.*, pl. 80, c.
 12. *Amarakośa*, 2.6.117.
 13. S. P. Gupta, R.I.A., fit. 29, p. 164.
 14. S. P. Gupta, R.I.A., pl. 29, a.

The above evidences show that two types of lower garments, the sari and the skirt were in vogue. It seems that the skirt was worn by the young ladies and dancers while the sārī was used by grown-up ladies. The skirts are worn in Kerala and Maṇipur by the present day dancer also.

Śuṅga Period :

Lower Garment

Sārī—The women generally wore two pieces of cloth one for the upper part of body and other for lower half. In this period, the females wore the sārī in the same way as the men. The sārī is generally seen covering the body below the navel, no part of it is taken round the bust so as to cover the breasts and shoulders. A separate piece of cloth is used by ladies for bust, but it does not at all cover the bosom. There were different fashions of wearing the sārī. The sārī of present day reaches to the ankles without any hind pleats. But in those days mostly the sārī was worn upto the knees or little below the knees with hind pleats (fig. 70) like Maharashtrian ladies. In a most common fashion the sārī is fastened around the waist with an elaborate girdle. Sometimes a 'kamarbandha' or belt is also worn. One loop of 'sārī' is tucked in front and the surplus portion of dhotī is brought from the right side covering the back and forming some pleats, tucked in front. One end of sārī is tucked in behind and other loop is hanging between the legs touching the ankles (fig. 67).¹ Generally, the sārī reaches to the knees or just below the knees, (Ill. XIII, XIV). But sometimes, it reaches near the ankles (fig. 75).² A terracotta figurine from Kauśāmbī,³ and the female depicted in Jaggayyapeta Stupa⁴ wear the sārī in standard mode of Bharhut and Sāñchī. The sārī is tied by the help of a flat belt and a girdle. A figure depicted at Bodhgayā⁵ has worn the sārī in some different way. The surplus portion of the garment is tucked in on the left side in such a manner that the oblique folds were formed on right leg (Ill. XXXVIII). The garment assumes a curvilinear sweep at the lower extremity of right leg. The end of the surplus portion drawn to left thigh is carefully pleated and their upper bunch neatly tucked in at left side. The lower ends hang gracefully above the knees. This mode of wearing the sārī is revealed at many places at Bodhgayā. This type of 'dhotī' is also worn by males even today. Another female figure depicted at Bodhgayā,⁶

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1. Barua, *Barhut*, pls. XIV, 10, XXII, 17a;
Barua, *Budhagayā*, fig. 11.
 2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XIV;
Coomarswamy, *Bodhgaya*, pl. XIV.
 3. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., figs. 36 & 37.
 4. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
 5. Barua, *Buddhagaya*, fig. 25 (a).
 6. Coomarswamy. *Bodhgaya*, pl. LIV.

has worn the sārī in the above manner, but disposing the surplus portion in pleasant pleats in front. At Sāñchī, a female worshipper¹ has brought the surplus portion of sārī in more usual manner from right to left side and tucked it away there to dangle over the left leg at behind (fig. 69). The dangling loop is fluttering touching the ground. It is a fashionable way of wearing the sārī. The lower garment of Maya Devi² depicted at Bharhut is so simple that there is only one fan-like sweep of the garment with few oblique folds (Ill. XVII). Sometimes a triangular loop is hanging in front (fig. 73).³ This mode of wearing the dhoti is also represented in males.⁴ If the sārī was pretty long, this loop touched the knees and the remaining portion nicely arranged in folds, rolled in between the feet.⁵ In some cases the front end was simply gathered together and suspended vertically⁶. "In some cases this end, usually the left but sometimes the right also, was tucked up to its opposite side and the remaining folds are seen suspended therefrom (fig 74)".⁷

There are a number of sculptures in which women's back are turned to the observer. Quite often they reveal neatly formed hind pleats, tucked into the top edge of the wrap behind or in some cases the hind pleats are tucked over the girdle or belt (Ill. XXVI). The pleats emerged at the back are shown about the region of mid thigh or little above the knees (Ill. XXVI)⁸. Sometimes the hind pleats are little lower, having turned them back at about the calf, where lies the lower edge of her garment.⁹ The hind pleats of a lady depicted at Bharhut¹⁰ is very uniform throughout its length. The hind pleat is turned back exactly at the lower edge. It has not shown the slightest disorder of its component folds. According to Ghurye "she has used pins to hold the internal component folds together because hot ironing could not be predicted as the operation having to be performed after the pleats were tucked into achieve, the end would have been very unpleasant to the wearer, a part from the need of a helper for it".¹¹ This type of hind pleats is well known to Maharashtrian ladies, who are expert to use the hind pleats of uniform breadth.

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1. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. VII.
 2. Zimmer, A.I.A., pl. 31, d.
 3. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 23.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. *Ibid.*, figs. 74, 78; N. P. Joshi, L.A.U., fig. 527, 528.
 6. *Ibid.*, fig. 32, *Ibid.*, 529.
 7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XI; N. P. Joshi, L.A.U. fig. 530.
 8. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pls. XIV, fig. 3, XXIV, : Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXXXIX fig. 133.
 9. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLV, fig. 3, G. S. Ghurye, *Op. cit.* fig. 157.
 10. *Ibid.*, pl., VIII.
 11. G. S. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

Sometimes the 'sārī' is worn very tightly and close fitting to the legs.¹ Sometimes, the sārī is worn forming vertical folds around the hip. In some cases the vertical folds are present on the left thigh. The figures of Pitalkhora caves² wear the sari tied around the loin and the folds of garment hang down on the left and partly cover the mekhalā. Thus the pleats of sārī on the left are tucked in over the girdle. A terracotta female figurine from Kauśāmbī³ also wears the creased sārī, the creases of which are present on the left side. The lower garment of Mahrauli Yakshi⁴ shows the oblique folds on the right thigh and vertical zig-zag folds on the left.

During this period the diaphanous sārī is also worn. In Sāñchi, there are many examples of transparent sārī.⁵ In some cases the sārī is transparent that it shows the nudity of the figure (fig. 65). Only some folds of sārī are indicated from which we can guess that the sārī is worn (Ill. VII).⁶ A stone sculpture found from Pauni,⁷ "wears the lower garment which is tied over her waist but which goes right below her knees with bunch dangling in between the legs in front".⁸ The sārī is transparent. A terracotta figurine from Ahichchhatra⁹ also wears the transparent sari. Prof. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted, "A dhoti with folds drawn in rolls on the sides. In spite of this, a notable feature of this specimen is the indication of nudity, produced by inserting a grain in the mould at the pubic triangle. Although a common feature is the Mother Goddess figurines from Gandhara, the indication of sex is practically absent in Ahichchhatra and Mathura female figures of the early class".¹⁰

Sometimes the loin cloth is very short. The figure of Gajlakshmi from Pitalkhora¹¹ is represented wearing a piece of cloth around the waist. The length of the cloth is upto the middle thigh (ordhoruka).

Kamarbandha or Belt—Generally the sārī is held by the help of girdle but the belt is not uncommon. It is worn as a fashion. It is narrow and long piece of

1. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., p. 32, m. 163, p. 46 no. 241., fig. 122, V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 304.
2. Deshpandey, "The Rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, no. 15, pls. LVII, C., LVIII, A.
3. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 36.
4. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60.
5. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchi*, pl. XXVI.
6. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.
7. Deo & Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX, fig. 11, no. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
9. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly" *Ancient India*, no. 4, pl. XXXII, fig. 12.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
11. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 4.

cloth wrapped around the waist over the sārī. The belt is tied in the middle in a bow knot at front and its doubled arms are allowed to dangle over the front pleats. Sometimes, it is tied on right side a little distance from middle.¹ It may be plain or embroidered (Ill. XXIII). The 'Kamarbandha' of the Chanda Yakshi is embroidered with star shaped decoration.² In some cases the belt is tied in such a way that the loops of it dangle on both sides.³ Sometimes, the 'Kamarbandha' is tied on right side forming two loops and its long arms dangle at the side of the leg.⁴

Patakā—It is another piece of cloth which is tucked in front in the girdle or in the upper edge of the lower garment below the navel. The Patakā of the Bata-namara Yakshi⁵ is very ornamental. There are twelve vertical rows of rounded beaded with five horizontal strips. From every section a beaded chain hangs. In the Bharhut sculptures⁶ some Yakshi figures are represented wearing the sari, the pleats of which hang in front between the legs zig-zag fringes which looks like a patakā (Ill. XXI). But actually it is not a patakā. A decorated patakā is worn by a female figure of Pitalkhora.⁷ She has worn five strands of mekhalā, to it is tucked a brocaded patakā in middle which gracefully hangs down below the knees on left side. It looks like an ornament. Similar type of patakā is also seen in the terracotta figurine of Bengal excavated at Boral,⁸ preserved in Asutosh Museum. Probably another patakā is also tucked in at back side because some portion of it is represented on the right side of the leg.⁹ The patakā is also represented in terracottas. Mostly terracotta figurines from Kauśāmbī reveal the patakā (III. XLI). Sometimes, it hangs with beautiful step like folds.¹⁰ Similar specimen is also found from Rajghat.¹¹ A Kauśāmbī terracotta reveals a beaded patakā of four strands hanging from the mekhala in front between the legs like an ornament.¹²

Skirt—Skirt or ghāgharā was also in vogue during these days. Many terracotta figurines and stone sculptures reveal the skirt-like garment. The garment of

1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII.
2. *Ibid* , pl. XXII, 3.
3. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 4.
4. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchi*, pl. XV.
5. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI, 2.
6. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII.
7. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LVII, b, p. 83.
8. S. S. Biswas *Terracotta Art of Bengal*, pl. XX, a.
9. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., figs. 32, 110.
10. *Ibid.*, fig. 39, p. 20 no. 88.
11. A. K. Narain and P. K. Agrawala, *Excavation at Rājghāt*, Vol. IV, pl. XXVII, 1.
12. S. C. Kala, *Bhāratīya Mr̥ttika Kalā*, fig. 13.

female figure depicted at Pitalkhora cave appears to be a skirt hanging on ankles in frills.¹ According to Deshpande,² the character of drapery is definitely un-Indian and Deshpande has said it as a Yavan Dress. A figure of mother goddess depicted on a stone disc of Vaisali³ is represented wearing a heavy feathery skirt with curious projection resembling bird's wing. The figure of Gajlakshmi⁴ depicted at Sanchi, wears the tight skirt reaching little below the knees without any frill. It looks a 'tahamad' like garment. A terracotta figurine from Kausāmbī,⁵ wears a skirt upto the knees. The skirt is secured by a waist band from which hangs a beaded chain. Another terracotta from same site wears the skirt. S. C. Kala⁶ has interpreted her dress as "she wears a long, ornamental tunic or a skirt supported at the waist by a double waist band, similar decoration seen on the scarf lying on the shoulder. The lace of tunic at the knee level is also decorated with punched lotus rosettes".

A bronze statue of mother goddess excavated at Rupar has worn short skirt only upto half thighs.⁷

Upper Garments

The use of scarf as female attire, is seen rarely in our period. At Bharhut, Bodhgayā and Sāñchī, the scarf is seen only in a limited number of instances. Some types of scarf as seen in sculptures are pointed out here :--

(1) The scarf of Batanmara Yakshi⁸ is worn in very fashionable mode. Both ends of scarf are brought forward from back and one end is allowed to dangle over the right arm near the elbow, and other on left forearm. Both loops hang on both sides.

(2) The scarf of Pitalkhora female hangs on both shoulders. Deshpande has interpreted, "The uttariya, the folds of which are seen on rear side, comes forward over the shoulder and appears to have been tucked near the mekhalā below the waist".⁹

(3) The scarf is worn in above mode but the ends of it are not tucked anywhere. Both ends hang in front in such a manner that the breasts are not covered.¹⁰

1. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, no. 4, pl. LX, B.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
3. P. K. Agrawala, AIMGVD, p. 104, fig. 37.
4. Marshall & Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XXIV.
5. S. C. Kala, T.A.M., fig. 42, p. 20, no. 90.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 19, no. 80.
7. P. K. Agrawala, E.I.B., pl. 72, p. 50.
8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI.
9. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, no. 15, pl. LVII, D., p. 83.
10. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly" *Ancient India*, no. 4., pl. XXXII, fig. 12, no. 6191.

“The lady facing the observer has put her pleated scarf over the back side of her neck and allowed the two arms to hang in front without any manipulation”.¹

(4) Two loops of the scarf passing round the back is brought in front and allowed to dangle loosely on her thighs.² (Ill. VII).

(5) Sometimes, the scarf tied very loosely around the waist is allowed to dangle on both arms on the sides. A female figure from Pauni³ wears the scarf tied very loosely on the left side, one loop hangs in front over the thigh and other is held by the left hand. In Bharhut sculpture also this type of scarf is worn by females (Ill. XIII). In a figure of couple⁴ the female wears the scarf around the waist tied in middle over the girdle forming a loop on left side. The long arm of the scarf is held by the right hand to prevent it from hindering her free motion. This type of scarf is also represented in Jaggayyapeta Stupa (fig. 66).⁵

(6) “Sometimes the scarf is tied around the waist tightly with a hanging bunch on the side of left leg”.⁶ In some cases the loops hang on the both side of the waist (fig. 64).⁷

(7) Both loops of the scarf are brought in front across the back, one loop is allowed to fall over the upraised right arm and other loop over the left arm near the elbow (fig. 68).⁸

(8) In an erotic scene at Bodhgayā,⁹ the lady who is trying to get away from her lover carries the usual scarf (Ill. XXXIX). She has worn the scarf in a way that it has embroiled her in its tangles. The scarf is worn round the bust with two long loops. One loop is caught in the right hand upwards and other is wrapped on the left leg. She wants to escape the clutches of her lover, but tangles of scarf prevent her from escaping.

(9) The scarf of Mehrauli Yakshi¹⁰ is very charming. Prof. V. S. Agrawala has described, “A thin richly decorated ribbon embroidered with pearl pattern on the two sides and a series of horned animal heads in the centre, is knotted in front of the girdle, with its loop falling on the left and two loose ends in front of the legs” (fig. 64).¹¹ This charming device lends beauty to the whole figures.

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1. Ghurye, *Op. cit.* fig. 148, p. 95; Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. VII.
 2. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.
 3. Deo & Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pls. XIX, XX.
 4. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XX.
 5. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
 6. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, fig. 222, p. 85.
 7. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 77, a.
 8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXX, 3.
 9. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pl. LIII.
 10. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60.
 11. G. S. Ghurya, *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

During this period mostly the upper part of body appears to be quite naked.¹ But Chanda Yakshini shows the light marks of drapery below the right breast (Ill. XI). This shows that the upper part of body is not bare, rather it is draped by a light muslin cloth. This type of 'dukūla' was manufactured in India on a large scale. Cunningham thinks, "it probably, therefore, that an upper garment of a light material is intended to be shown by the sculpture, and that for the sake of displaying the different necklaces and collars, and girdles, he has purposely omitted the folds and traces of the muslin wrapper. In the smaller figure of Maya Devi there is not the slightest trace of any upper garment; but as she is sleeping amongst her women attendants, the 'chaddar' may have been laid aside. It is quite certain, however, that the women did wear an upper wrapper, as some of the Courtesan Apsaras, when they wished to tempt Sakya Sinha, are said to have half uncovered their bosoms, whilst others appeared naked in transparent garments".² But in some references³ where the heavy ornaments are not represented on the bosom, traces of drapery at that place also are absent. Thus, it indicates that only some classes of people wore that upper garment on special occasions. It seems, the people of inferior class did not wear upper garment. Fergusson⁴ says that until the Muslim conquest Hindu women had no shame in exposing their bosom. But Altekar says that "The contemporary literature makes it quite clear that it was regarded as highly decorous for a woman to move without completely covering her upper portion."⁵ According to him, the artists were not expert to do the same sārī as covering both the lower and upper part of body. But there are many reference, where a separate piece of cloth is used for the upper part of body but the breasts are naked. It may be that breasts are the most significant symbol of motherhood, so the artists felt to show them bare in art. Sculptures of Sanchi have mostly represented draped in transparent lower garment revealing the nudity. According to Basham⁶ the Indian artists followed the Romans and Greeks in showing the female form in state of nakedness for beauty, when this had no counterpart in real life. They had draped the women, portraying real life rather than mythology. It seems that they do so only for beauty in art.

Dress of a Terracotta figurine—An outstanding plaque of the Sunga period is a standing female, which is now in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford.⁷ This type

1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI, Middle, pl. XXIII.

2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*, pl. XLV, 3.

4. Fergusson, T. S. W., p. 102-3.

5. Altekar, P. W. A. I., p. 334.

6. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 213.

7. E. H. Johnston, 'A Terracotta Figure at Oxford', J. I. S. O. A., Vol. X, p. 94, fig. IX, 1.

of figure is also deposited in Allahabad Museum,¹ excavated from Kauśāmbī. They wear very complicated dress. The representations of dress have been two interpretations. Either 'it consists of sleeveless tunic caught in at waist by girdle and extending to the knees with a skirt underneath which reaches nearly to the ankles', or a single garment with flounces. E. H. Johnston² has interpreted her garment, "Two curious points may be noted as without parallel in India so far as my knowledge extends. Firstly there is a clearly definite border to the cloth round the top part of the dress, instead of the selvage being left untouched as is usual in Indian statuary. Secondly, the right shoulder is bare, and the edge of the dress passes over the centre of the left breast; while this is well enough known from male figures, it has not been authenticated for women". "At the bottom of tunic (or flounces) are two series of strings of beads ending in tassels;..... Above the upper series of these strings are four little figures, two on each thigh, made from the same mould. The bodies are paunchy and covered with tiny dots; the attitude is squatting with the elbows resting on the knees and the hands raised to the head, on which is a turban or conical head dress." Dr. Moti Chandra³ has identified it as a sleeveless 'Kañchuka' reaching upto the knees and belted at the waist. She has worn also dupaṭṭā over the 'Kañchuka'. "A sash passes over the right shoulder and round the hip like a bandolier, consisting of a broad ribbon and four amulets. The latter represent two fish, a bird, with the head broken (perhaps a parrot), a sleeping doe and a makara. A number of strings of beads are appended to the ribbon and the amulets. One or more scarves are worn, passing over the right and left upper arms and the left shoulder and breast, and terminating on a level with the knees".⁴

Dress of religious women (female ascetics)—

The female ascetics wear the 'valkala' kilt (made of leave and bark) like the male ascetics.⁵ The upper portion of body is bare.⁶ The female ascetic depicted at Sāñchī,⁷ (III. XXIX) wears a drawer and scarf covering only left breast and shoulder (fig. 72). According to Ghurye,⁸ it is a tunic. The sleeve of right side is cut away exposes the right breast. It resembles the feature of foreign ladies in western region.⁹ Sometimes the female ascetics wear śāṭaka and chadara and jaṭābhāra.¹⁰

1. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 22.
2. E. H. Johnston, *Op. cit.*, p. 97.
3. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 83.
4. E. H. Johnston. *Op. cit.*, p. 98.
5. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLII, 1.
6. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII, fig. 3.
7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XXIX.
8. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
9. *Ibid.*, fig. 41, 42.
10. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLI, 1.

CHAPTER IV

Head-Dress : An Introduction

Head-dress is a common item of male and female fashions. It has been customary with human being in all ages to arrange their hair in one way or the other. The fashion of hair dressing is very common from the Vedic period till today. In the *R̥ig Veda*, reference has been made to Vasishṭha having 'Kaparda' worn on the right side.¹ Some styles of hair dressing are also mentioned in Vedic literature which are 'opaśa',² 'kurīra',³ 'kumba',⁴ 'sīman',⁵ 'pulasti',⁶ 'śikhaṇḍa',⁷ etc. Pāṇini mentions 'keśaka'. Prof. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted it as the 'keśa' which were dressed in an artistic manner by the dandies.⁸ Patanjali also mentions 'muṇḍa', 'jaṭā' and 'śikhā'.⁹ The *Brahmajāla Sūtra* refers 'śikhā-bhaṇḍham', an artistic arrangement of coiffure.¹⁰ In the *Amarakosha*, six words are used for hair i.e., 'chikura', 'kuntala', 'bāla', 'kacha', 'keśa', and 'sīroruha'.¹¹ There are also references to 'chūrṇa kuntala', 'bhramaraka', chūḍā and 'keśapāsī'.¹² Thus we see that the people took interest in the head-dressing from early times.

Comb and Oil

For smoothening the hairs, the comb was also used. In the *chullavagga*, it is mentioned that "the hair was smoothened (Osaṇheti) by 'koccha' (comb), 'phaṇaka' (smoothening instrument shaped like a serpents hood, a kind of primitive brush but without bristles) and hand comb (hattha-phaṇaka) or the hand used as comb with fingers held still and separate passing through the hair precisely as

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1. *R̥ig Veda*, VII, 33.1; S. C. Sarkar, *Some aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, p. 70.
 2. *Atharva Veda*, VI, 138.1,2.; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I., p. 139.
 3. *R̥ig Veda*, X, 85.8., *Ibid.*, p. 181.
 4. *Atharva-Veda*, VI, 138.3.; *Ibid.*, p. 180.
 5. *Ibid.*, IX, 8.13.; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 498.
 6. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 10.
 7. *Atharva-Veda*, IV, 37.7; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 419.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, I.K.P., p. 131.
 9. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 1.2, I. 1.7, I. 1.18.
 10. *Brahmajāla Sūtra*, Vol. I, p. 7; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 192.
 11. *Amarakosha*, 2.6.95.
 12. *Ibid.*, 2.6.96.

one would hold them if one wishes to imitate the hood of a cobra".¹ From Ujjain, an ivory comb is excavated.² In the *Chullavagga*, it is also mentioned that for making hair pomade was also used. In this connection, 'sitthatelaka' and 'udakatelaka' are referred³. Hair pins were also used for the hair decoration. The hair pins are found from Taxila and Prabhas Patan, Distt. Sorath, Gaya.⁴

Mirror

To make coiffure the mirror was also used. In the absence of the mirror the bowls of water was commonly used for reflections. The rich people and the kings used the golden mirrors (*ōdasa*) with a very fine polished surface.⁵

Barber

The art of cutting of hair was also well developed. Patañjali refers to ladies with dainty hair keeping bobwig (*tanu keśyaḥ strīyaḥ*).⁶ Panini mentions the word 'snāpaka' (for barber) who cut and dressed the hair.⁷ The term 'kalpaka' mentioned by Kauṭilya probably corresponds to the barber class. For king's toilet and head dress, a special barber (*maṅgalanahāpita*) was appointed.⁸

Scissor

For cutting the hair the scissors were used. In the *Chullavagga*,⁹ razor (*khuram*) and scissors are mentioned. For King, golden scissors and tweezers were used.¹⁰

Dyeing of hair

Nearchus tells us "they dye of one hue and another according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible but others dye them blue, white, some prefer a red tint, some purple and others a rank

1. *Chullavagga*, V. 2 3; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 193.
2. *I.A.R.*, 1956-57, p. 24.
3. *Chullavagga*, IV. 2.3.
4. *I.A.R.*, 1956-57, p. 16.
5. *Jātaka*, II, p. 297, IV, pp. 7,270; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 193.
6. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 1 2, VI. 3.34.; Krishmurti, H.S.A.I., p. 14.
7. *Ashṭādhyāyī*. II. 2.9.
8. *Jātaka*, I, pp. 137, 108; III, p. 451, IV, p. 365.; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 188.
9. *Chullavagga*, V. 27.3.; *Ibid.*, p. 192.
10. *Jātaka*, I, p. 137, III. p. 451; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 189.

green.”¹ Strabo also mentions that “the Indians, by way of decorating their persons, dye their beards with a great variety of the most florid hues.”²

Simanta

During these days also the hair was arranged as parting in middle to give an appearance of ‘simanta’. In the *Mahābhāshya*, the author has mentioned that the hair was arranged with a parting line in the middle and the mass of hair was gathered together at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls hanging down as low as the waist, or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back.³ The Buddhist literature also mentions that the hair was arranged parted in middle.⁴

Some types of Coiffure

Long hair

Strabo records that all of them wear long hair and long beard, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet.⁵ In the *Mahābhārata*, there are many references of lamba kesa. The hair of Duryodhana was long.⁶ In Virāṭa-Parva in the reference of the fighting of Bhīma and Kīchaka, it is said that Bhīma dragged out the hair of Kīchaka.⁷ Thus the hair of Kichaka was so long. The hair of Jarāsandha was also long.⁸ Generally, the people wore their hair long though the Bhikshus were forbidden to grow the hair for more than two months.⁹ In sculptures, there are many references of long hair dangling on the back.¹⁰

Short hair

Sometimes the people wore short hair either curly or straight. In Sāñchi, a scene of procession reveals cut hair dangling on the nape of the neck.¹¹ Patañjali refers to ladies with dainty hair keeping bob wig.¹²

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1. Mc. Crindle, A.I.D.M.A., p. 225.
 2. B. N. Puri, *India as described by early Greek writers*, p. 91.
 3. *Mahābhāshya*, II. 2.24.; Krishnamurti, H.S A.I., p. 14.
 4. *Jātaka*, V, p. 156; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 192.
 5. Strabo, XV. 1.71; R. C Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 281.
 6. *Mahābhārata*, Shalya Parva, 64.4.5; S. Bhattacparya, *Mahābhārata Kālīna Samāja*, p. 211.
 7. *Mahābhārata*, Virata Parva, 22.52.; *Ibid.*, p. 211.
 8. *Ibid.*, Sabhā Parva, 23.6.; *Ibid.*
 9. Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 193.
 10. Maisey *Op. cit.* pl. XII, fig. 1.
 11. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. VI, fig. 2.
 12. ‘Tanu Keśaḥ Strīyaḥ’, *Mahābhāshya*, VI. 3.34.

Shaven head

The ascetics either wore braided hair or shaved their hair completely,. In scene of foreign musicians depicted at Sāñchī, some men are represented with partly shaven head at front.

Curly hair

It is seen that the curly hair was also in vogue. The Sāñchī sculptures reveal many examples of curly hair of the men.¹ It would be interesting to know that the curly hair are conspicuously absent in early Indian art. Curly hair appears during the Kushāṇa period in the figure of Buddha. It became common in the Gupta period. This fashion was introduced into India by the Greeco-Roman just before the Christian era. As such, the persons who appear at Sāñchī with such a hair style could have been either Greeks or Romans.² This is typically non-Indian and is seen among the nobleman of Imperial Roman Court.³ Even in earlier time, the Greeks combed their hair in similar fashion.⁴ The fore-head band around the curly hair is also un-Indian. It also becomes fairly common only in the Gupta period. In all probability, these bands served to keep the curly hair unruffled. It is also of the Greek⁵ origin.

Venī

It is interwoven hair allowed to flow down on the back or in front.⁶ Sītā had a long braid of dark-bule hair reaching down to her hips.⁷

Pravenī

When venī was arranged with jewelled strips all along over it for decoration, it made up lovely mode of hair.⁸ The Chanda Yakshini has worn the 'pravenī'.⁹

Ekavenī

It is undressed hair of women separated from her husband.¹⁰

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1. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pls. VI, X.
 2. Krishnamurti, H. S. A. I., p. 25.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 4. Krishnamurti, H. S. A. I., p. 25.
 5. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 29.
 6. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXX, fig. 1; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 200.
 7. S. Nanooram Vyas, *India in the Rāmāyana Age*, p. 220.
 8. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 106.
 9. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII, 3.
 10. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 106.

Keśapāsa

It is charming arrangement of representation of feminine coiffure. Dr. Sivaramamurti has interpreted as 'keśapāsa' is a charming arrangement of the hair in the noose fashion and the knot here may be tight or loose.¹ The term 'pāsa' suggests only beauty but also implies the noose shape.

Kabarībandha

It is simple knot of hair and the flower wreath invariably adorn it.² It differs from 'kesapasa' in its lack of loop.

Śikhaṇḍa

It is a knot of hair on the top. In the *Brahmajala Sūtra*, 'sikhā bandham' is mentioned for this knot.³ It is considered an important part of toilet.

Dhammila

It is most lovely coiffure of female. Dhammila is elaborate head dress, adorned with jewels, pearls and flowers.⁴ It is rolled up of braided hair. During this period 'dhamilla' coiffure was not in vogue. It is brought in North-India from South in the Gupta period.⁵ When this type of coiffure was worn by men, was known as 'maulibandha'.⁶

Jaṭābhāra and Jaṭājūṭa

It is a knot of matted hair. This type of coiffure is in vogue in ascetics's head dress.

Kākapaksha

It is side locks of hair round the ears. It was special characteristic of the mode of hair dressing for young princes in Ancient India.⁷ Rāma and Lakshmaṇa when they sallied forth Visvamitra are described as wearing side locks (Kākapakshadharah).⁸ "Even in the present day, the Aryan fashion of shaving of the hair on the crown and leaving locks on either side of the head is found in parts of Northern India and among martial tribes of Frontiers. In Iran, this fashion is known as 'Kākula'".⁹

1. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 107.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

3. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 192.

4. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 107.

5. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 122.

6. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 107.

7. S. N. Vyas, *India in the Rāmāyana Age*, p. 220.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

Decoration of head with jewels, ornaments and garland

Decoration of the head is itself a great piece of art. The fine decorations with gems, pearls and other jewels are represented in sculptures and terracottas. In the Bharhut Sculpture, there is a lovely representation of pearl-net decoration for the hair.¹ Sometimes, ornamental fillet is used.²

Head-gear

Head gear was an important item of male and female costume. They are usually shown wearing head gear which are as follows :

Ushnīsha—Among the men the commonest type of head-dress is turban which is worn by kings and commoners, one and all. 'Ushnīsha', 'Kirīṭa', 'Veshṭana', 'Veshṭanapaṭṭa', 'Sirovasṭhana' are words used for head gear. The inter-wreathing of muslin with the hair is also described by Q. Curtius, who says that "They wind rolls of muslin round their heads".³ Turban is a long piece of muslin wrapped along the hair forming one or two protuberance on the head. According to the shape of protuberance, there are many types of turban i. e. ball shaped, barrel shaped etc. In some cases the turban is adorned by a beaded chain on the forehead.⁴ Kauṭilya mentions 'Kulamitika'. Shamasastri read 'Kathamitika' and took it as a head dress.⁵ Mostly the men wear the 'ushnīsha' but sometimes female also wear it.⁶

Tiara or Mukuṭa—The 'mukuṭa' was worn by the people very rarely. Probably it was worn by only the king. In Sāñchī sculpture, a man is revealed wearing the 'mukuṭa' like head gear.⁷ Dr. Moti Chandra calls it a ṭopi decorated with tassels.⁸ The figure of Indra depicted at Sanchi is represented wearing the 'mukuta' which is cylindrical and tall.⁹ In the *Rāmāyana* the Kirīṭa is mentioned for the head gear.¹⁰ It is decorated sometimes with jewels and pearls.

Sometimes an ornamental fillet was worn with ornamented crest.¹¹ A vyāla rider wears a small tiara with circular crest in the centre with a rosette boss.¹² This

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1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI.
 2. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII.
 3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 32.
 4. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pls. II & III Medallions.
 5. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 82.
 6. Barua, *Bharhut*, pl. XXX, 23.
 7. Maisey, *Op. cit.* pl. XXIII. 2.
 8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p., 79, fig. 87.
 9. Marshall, *Sāñchī*, pl. XXIX; Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 487.
 10. *Rāmāyana*, Aranya parva; 38.1; S. Sahay, *Indian Costume Coiffure and Ornaments*, p. 57.
 11. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XV, fig. 13.
 12. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. LXVI, b,

type of head gear is absent in early Indian art. Their presence at Sāñchī is betoken of their being an innovation of the early Sātavāhan period. Similar head gear can also be noted in later Sātavāhan sculpture at Kanheri.¹

Cap—During this period cap was also worn by the men. In orchestra scene of foreigners depicted at Sāñchī, some men are revealed wearing the conical cap. These caps have been identified as the 'kulāh cap'² referred by Bana and V. S. Agrawala rightly infers that the word 'kulāh' has been derived from the Persian 'Khola'.³ The men, wearing these caps at Sāñchī therefore, can also be identified as Persians. Sometimes, oval shaped close fitting cap is also seen.⁴

Veil—Veil is an important item of female head dress. Most of the females wear scarf or odhani on their head. In the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhasa, Rāma asks Sītā to take off her veil (avaguṇṭhana) when they were starting for the forest.⁵ "The widows of the king Dasaratha when they go to the house where the image of the late king was installed, wore the veil. They removed their veil before Bharata to enable him to see their condition".⁶ The veil is necessary for married women. It was not necessary for maidens. In the nāṭaka of Bhāsa, when Vāsavadattā in the company of her nurse was allowed to go to visit the temple of Yakshini, her veil was removed because Vāsavadattā, being a maiden, might be seen by the people without any blame.⁷

Coif—Sometimes, the ladies wear the coif as a head dress. Mostly the figure of Gajlakshmi⁸ is represented wearing the coif. It is close fitting scarf.

Head dress of male

During these periods the men did not take any care of their hair. This was, due to the common practice of wearing the turban. Only few males are represented without turban.⁹ The ascetics are represented without any headgear. The male of higher classes wore the fine muslin around the head and sometimes they used jewels and pearls also.

Head dress of female

Generally the females wear the odhani on their head. They take also much care in doing their coiffure. They wear veni and loose knot on the back. The

1. Simmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II., pl. 85.

2. Maisy, *Op. cit.*, pl. X.

3. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 189.

4. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 84.

5. Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, p. 236.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

8. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXX, 77,a.

9. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 11.

female of higher class wear the very fine brocaded veil on the head. The veil or scarf of Chanda Yakshi is very beautiful.¹ At sometimes, the forehead, the margin of head dress is adorned with beaded bands. Sometimes, they wear peacock-plume-like head dress.² Sometimes 'ushnīsha' is also worn by female but occasionally. In the Vedic period also the goddess Indrani has been described as wearing 'ushnīsha'.³ This word is mostly mentioned in literature in the connection with the head dress of male person. In Bodhgayā relief mostly the women are revealed wearing the turban.⁴ In Bharhut, a figure of dancer also wears the turban.

Head dress of the King and Queen

For King's toilet and head dress, a special barber was appointed, (Maṅgalanahāpita). He dressed his hair with golden scissors and tweezers.⁵ The King wears turban adorned with sparkling jewels. Kauṭilya refers to 'ushnīsha', the presenter of king's head dress.⁶ The crowns were also used by the kings as ornament.⁷

The queens also required the service of trained class of female attendants. In the *Mahābhārata*,⁸ when Sairandhri went to Queen Sudeshṇā, the wife of Virāṭa, a question was asked about her qualification as a toilet expert. She said that she was expert in arranging coiffures (keśan kartum jānāmi). According to Prof. V. S. Agrawala, "there was a special class of person called 'Sairindhri' who had special skill in the art of toileting (prasāadhanopacharajñā). This may be reason why Draupadi named herself 'Sairindhri' in the harem of the Virāṭa King."⁹

Head dress of Bhrāhmaṇa Sādhus and Bhikshus

Aristobulous says¹⁰ that in Taxila, he saw two the sages, both Brahamins; the elder had his head shaved, but the other wore his hair. The Brahamins had shaven head or matted hair as a jaṭābhāra. The priests wore red turbans.¹¹ Patañjali also mentions red turbans worn by ritvijās (the priests).¹² The ascetics wore jaṭābhāra or jaṭājūṭa. The Bhikshus wore shaven head or matted hair but to grow hair for more than two months was forbidden.¹³

1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIII, 3.
2. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., pl. III.
3. *Satapatha Brahmana*, V. 3.5.23.; Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 9.
4. Barua, *Buddhgaya*, pl. 41, 72.
5. *Jātaka*, I. pp. 108, 137; III, p. 451, VI, p. 144.
Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 189,
6. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 41.
7. Meyer, *Sexual life in Ancient India*. p. 84.
8. *Mahābhārata*, IV, 8.16.; Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 198.
9. V. S. Agrawala, I.D.M., p. 28.
10. B. N. Puri, *Op. cit.*, p. 73.
11. Meyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 265.
12. *Mahābhāshya*, 1.1.27.
13. Moti Chandra, C.T.C.C., p. 193.

CHAPTER V

Male Head-Dress and Coiffure

Head dress was a common item of male attire in this period. Generally, men wore an 'ushnīsha' (turban) on their head. Regarding the use of head-dress by people, Megasthenese says, "Indian wore an upper garment which they partly throw over their shoulders and partly twist in folds around their head".¹ Near-chus also supports the statement of Megasthenese. It may therefore, be suggested that the head-dress of some kind was used by the Indian people. The sculptural evidences represent that it was used by some section of people, not by all.

Mauryan Period

In the Mauryan period, there are some stone sculptures and terracotta figurines, which throw light on the head-dress and hair-dressing of the men. The Yakshas figures from Patna and Mathura regions are represented as bare headed, which may indicate that the males belonging to certain classes did not wear the head-gear. The stone heads from Sarnath show the beautiful example of head dress. A stone head from Sarnath² consists a mural crown of merlons above the laurel wreath, hiding the hairs, saving for a few short curls on the forehead. Dr. S. P. Gupta describes the crown of this head as "The man wears a small but very characteristic crown, the sides all along the crown are made of what is known as merlon or stepped-pyramidals (fig. 79). Its nearest analogy comes from Persia. The head of an Achaemenians prince³ wears a crown of more or less the same shape, the difference are only at two points :

(i) In the Sarnath example a floral band, to be exact, a garland of floral buds, is shown securing the crown on the head which is not the case with the Persia examples.

(ii) On the top, the Sarnath crown shows plain surface while in the Persian example it is combed hair. "The small locks of hair escaping through the Sarnath crown are also not found repeated on Persian head in identical manner"⁴

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1. Mc Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 224.
 2. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 13, right side;
S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 41, b.
 3. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 41, c.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

Another head from same site also wears the head dress decorated with laurel wreath and mural crown of merlons or stepped pyramidal flaps.¹ Another head fragment of this place is "smooth but covered by a piece of cloth, which bound by a plain fillet $2\frac{1}{4}$ " wide on the forehead falls behind like a full bottomed wig."² It resembles the head gear of present Mewars and also that of the Mugals in India. A terracotta head of laughing boy from Patna has "bicornate head-dress of which one side on the right is higher and the other on the left flat. It is made of a cloth which is fastened at the back. The two ends of the cloth or ribbon are affixed at the back. The hem of the cloth shows its wavy edge around the back of the head".³

Sometimes the men wear the cap like head gear. The Basarha terracotta head has a turkish cap or helmet (fig. 80). The Palwal Yaksha discovered by Prof. V. S. Agrawala; also wears the "conical cap or helmet with tiered folds".⁴ This type of cap is also represented in a Buxer terracotta.⁵

Sometimes, men do not use the head gear. They dress their hair only. A head from Sarnath⁶ wears the large looped knot on the top of the head (fig. 77). It is 'jaṭā-jūṭa' or 'jaṭābhāra',⁷ example of the hair styles. One male head from Sarnath⁸ has combed hair resting on the nape of the neck. A male figure depicted on the rectangular plaque excavated from Rajgiri in 1962-63 shows the combed hair,⁹ Another male head from Sonkh near Mathura is represented with braided hair forming a loop (fig. 76). In the words of excavator H. Hartel, "The head is formed in a hitherto unknown style. Indeed the pointed nose, face and the two braids of hair falling down on the forehead reminds us of the back type, but the chignon possibly covered by cloth and tied on the left side, the head is also of interest for its being male where as most of the known Mauryan terracotta are with a few exceptions Matrikā figures".¹⁰

Śuṅga Period

In the Śuṅga period, we find many varieties of head-dresses and hair styles. In the Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā and Mathura sculptures, many types of head-dresses appear. The head dresses depicted at Bharhut, Sāñchī and Bodhgayā have striking similarities. The difference lies mainly in the nature and mode of turbans

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1. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., fig. 40, b.
 2. *Ibid.*, pl. 38, a, b, p. 80.
 3. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., p. 32, fig. 43.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 134.
 5. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 50.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. 39, c.
 7. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 106.
 8. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 12.
 9. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., p. 60.
 10. *Ibid.*, pls. 74, a, 75a, p. 142.

(ushnīsha). Even at Bodhgaya almost all the men are seen wearing the 'ushnīsha'. The head dress in some sculptures depicted at Sāñchī has some peculiarities. The common type of turban is a long piece of cloth wrapped around the head in various styles, usually having projections on the top of the head (fig. 89).¹ The interweaving of muslin with the hair is also described by Q. Curtius who says that "they wind rolls of muslin round their head".² Sometimes, the crest or protuberance appears on left side e.g. Bharhut³ (fig. 85), Sāñchī,⁴ Bodhgayā,⁵ Pitalkhora⁶ and Pauni⁷ sculptures (fig. 96). Sometimes two projections appear.⁸ Left side protuberance appears in Rājghāt⁹ and Ahichchhatra terracotta¹⁰ also. Sometimes, the crest appears on the right side. It is seen in the Bharhut,¹¹ Bodhgayā,¹² Kauśāmbī¹³ and Mathura sculptures (fig. 97).¹⁴ Sometimes, the oval crest appears in front at top (Ill.XXX) e.g. Bharhut,¹⁵ Sāñchī,¹⁶ Mathura¹⁷ and Pitalkhora¹⁸ sculptures. Sometimes, it is seen on both sides.¹⁹

Two types of turban were in vogue, (i) lighter turban (ii) heavier turban. In the lighter turban, the hair is gathered in top knot and the band of scarf is wrapped round it. The scarf is tied in such a manner that most part of hair is left exposed (fig. 96).²⁰ In the heavier turban the scarf is wrapped several times round the head

1. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 17, a.
2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 31.
3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 31. pl. 15, Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 23.
4. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XI.
5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pl. III.
6. Deshpande, "The Rock-Cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15 pl. LX, A.
7. S. B. Deo and N. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX, fig. 11, no. 1.
8. J. Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples*, p. 5, fig. 3.
9. A. K. Narain and P. K. Agrawala, *Excavations at Rājghāt*, Vol. IV, pls. XXII, 3; XXV. 2.
10. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly", *Ancient India*, no. 4, pl. XXXII, fig. 12.
11. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 32.
12. *Ibid.*, pl. 42, medallion.
13. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXVI, 70.
14. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 370.
15. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pls. XXI, a, XXIV, 2.
16. F. C. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. V, VII.
17. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pls. 18, 19.
18. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 5.
19. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 35.
20. S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX, fig. 11, no. 1.

(fig. 89).¹ It may be assumed that the heavy turbans decorated with pearls and precious or semi-precious stones were worn by the people of rich classes.

In the most common mode of wearing the turban, the hair gathered in top-knot, is covered by one of the scarf and other end is twisted several times round the head forming the shape of a turban (fig. 85).

The turban varied in its fashion of covering the ears with its rolls. Sometimes, both the ears are completely covered.² In many cases, they are only partially concealed under the folds of turban.³ Rarely as in the case of royal personage of Sāñchī,⁴ the turban rests almost above the ears (Ill.XXVIII).

Various types of turban were in practice according to the forms and decoration of its protuberance, which are given as follows :

1. Sometimes, the protuberance takes the shape of 'Kambu' (figs. 90, 94).⁵ In another figure one loop of the cloth is wrapped, many times around the 'kambu' (conch-shell) (fig. 92, Ill.XXX).⁶ Sometimes, behind the 'kumbu', an additional floral part makes its appearance (fig. 95).⁷
2. Sometimes, the top knot is of wheel shaped (fig. 86).⁸
3. At some places, the top knot is like a spinning ball (fig. 87).⁹
4. At another place, the knot is loose and long and folds of turban are also loose.¹⁰
5. Sometimes, the knot is fan-shaped.¹¹
6. The turban is of a barrel shaped knot (figs. 93, 101).¹²
7. Sometimes, the turban is of three knots combined (fig. 88).¹³

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1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIV. 1,2,3
 2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIV, 2,4; Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, figs. 152, 153.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII. a, b; *Ibid.* fig. 137, 138.
 4. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 58.
 5. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 74.
 6. *Ibid.*, fig. 75.
 7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XI, XXIII; N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 440.
 8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 77.
 9. *Ibid.*, fig. 78.
 10. *Ibid.*, fig. 79.
 11. *Ibid.*, fig. 80.
 12. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XVII.
 13. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B. fig. 82.

8. Sometimes, the crest is elongated.¹
 9. Sometimes, the turban has dot and leaf designs over the ball.²
 10. In the another case, there are some pleats over the ball (fig. 91).³
 11. Sometimes, the pleats are over the ball with slight projection at the back.⁴
 12. A small frilled turban with three screw-like appearances at left temple.⁵
 13. A frilled turban decorated with many screw-like appearances.⁶
 14. Embroidered turban with leaves and flowers.⁷
 15. The turban decorated with pearls and jewels (fig. 89).⁸
 16. Elongated turban.⁹
 17. The turban with embroidered border.¹⁰
 18. The turban studded with jewels and pearls (fig. 107).¹¹
 19. The turban shaped of lotus flower (fig. 102.)¹²
 20. The turban with horn-like projection (fig. 83).¹³
- Sometimes, it is studded with jewels (fig. 98).¹⁴
21. Sometimes, a scarf is worn over the head. The Kubera or Kupiro Yaksha wears the embroidered scarf like that of the females as a head covering.¹⁵

Cap

1. Close fitting oval cap e.g. Bharhut,¹⁶ Sāñchi,¹⁷ Bodhgayā,¹⁸ Mathura,¹⁹ sculptures. It is also seen in terracottas.²⁰

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1. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 70.
 2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXX, 3;
Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 24.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXX. 4.
 4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI.
 5. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV. 3.
 7. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV.1.
 8. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI.
 9. *Ibid.*, pl. XIV.
 10. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXXII. 4.
 11. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. IX.
 12. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.
 13. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 109.
 14. *Ibid.*, pl. 107.
 15. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII.
 16. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. 76, 99.
 17. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 2.
 18. Barua, *Budhgaya*, fig. 20.
 19. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 10.
 20. A. K. Narain and P. K. Agrawala, *Excavation at Rājghāt*, Vol. IV, pl. XXXI. A.

2. Close-fitting cap with round tassel in front (figs. 100, 104).¹
3. A cap with a piece of cloth suspended behind (fig. 110).²
4. Conical or turkish cap (fig. 103). It is seen in the Sāñchī figures of Musicians.³ This cap is identified as the 'Kulāh' cap referred to by Bāṇa and Prof. V. S. Agrawala rightly refers that the word 'kulāh' has been derived from the Persian 'Khola'.⁴
5. Double crescent cap. This type of cap is seen only in the Bodhgaya sculpture (fig. 105, 106).⁵
6. Elongated round cap, from which a tassel hangs on the ear (fig. 99).⁶
7. A cap cut at the forehead and surmounted with a fillet with a round tassel in the centre (fig. 114).⁷
8. A trapezium shaped cap with a knob at the top (fig. 113).⁸
9. Braided cap or cap with a plume on the top (fig. 109).⁹
10. Loaf like cap—Prof. Ghurye says the head of partly figure of fly-whisk-bearer standing on the top of one of the gateway of Sāñchī stupa, wears a "loaf like cap surrounded at its lower end by a thick roll of cloth and resembles one variety of persian head gear and contemporary Persian cap".¹⁰
11. Sometimes, a hemispherical cap is worn partly covering the head.¹¹

Crown (Kirīṭa)

1. Highly projecting crown peculiar to the figure of Indra.¹² The crown consists four corners (fig. 116, III. XXIX).
2. Head gear with regular pointed ridges (fig. 118).¹³
3. Ornamented head gear (fig. 115).¹⁴
4. Helmet with two projections on both sides with round tassels and an umbrella like appearance on the top (fig. 108).¹⁵

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1. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXIV.
 2. *Ibid.*, pl. X.
 3. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. X.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 189.
 5. Barua, *Buddhagayā*, fig. 43, b. h.
 6. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XV, fig. 40, a.
 7. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., p. 79, fig. 85.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 81, fig. 86.
 9. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XV, fig. 2.
 10. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
 11. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig., 74.
 12. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 159, fig. 487.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 159, fig. 489.
 14. *Ibid.*, fig. 482.
 15. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 125.

5. A simple fillet with a plume of peacock at top.¹

Some other styles in the head gears are as follows :—

1. A fillet tied round the top-knot decorated with an elongated ornament in the centre.²
2. A fillet tied round the forehead with both ends fluttering behind in the air (fig. 112).³
3. A cross band tied around the head.⁴
4. Sometimes, a decorated cloth is wrapped around the head.⁵ Prof. V. S. Agrawala has identified it as an 'ushnīshapaṭṭi'.⁶
5. Sometimes the head-dress consisted a fillet with three projecting plume⁷ (Ill. X). According to Prof. V. S. Agrawala,⁸ it may be 'Trīśikhaṇḍa'.
6. Sometimes, the fillet was wrapped around the hair knot (fig. 117).⁹
7. Sometimes, a baud is tied in the middle of hair.¹⁰

Coiffure

1. Simple combed hair parted in middle—sometimes the hair is parted in middle and allowed to fall back.¹¹ Sometimes the hair is parted in middle and formed in two tassels on both sides above the ear (Ill. IX). It is a peculiar item of headdress.
2. Combed hair resting on the nape of neck (fig. 120).¹²
3. Long hair hanging on the back—Mostly sages adopted this kind of coiffure.¹³

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1. A. Ghosh (ed.) *Ajantā Murals*, pl. I.
 2. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 91/88 b, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 474.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. XI; *Ibid.*, figs. 475, 477.
 4. *The Art of India/Stone Sculpture*, pl. 15.
 5. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. 46; Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 29.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 189.
 7. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. 24. fig. 67.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 21.
 9. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pls. 63, 107; Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 5.
 10. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Decan", *Ancient India*, no. 15, pl. 60, b, p. 85.
 11. Barua, *Barhut*, pls. LXIX, fig. 85, LXXXIV, no. 125.
 12. Fergusson, T. S. W. XXXIV, fig. 2.; Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 3.
 13. *Ibid*, fig. IV, 12.

4. Combed hair with a knot on the nape of the neck.¹ A slight variation can be seen in this hair style in the Vyala-rider of Sāñchī.² He has combed his hair and gathered it into a vertical projecting bunch at the back. This type of hair style is common among women in Amaravati and Ajanta.³

5. Long hair combed at back with the upwards twisted curls—sometimes, the men combed their hair and terminated them in upwards twisted curls.⁴

6. Sometimes, “the hair is done in three plaits on his left side”.⁵ Sometimes, the hair is dressed in four plaits.⁶ Sometimes the hair is dressed in three tier, each decorated with rectangular beads.⁷

7. Curly hair—Some-times, curled locks of hair are noticed. In Bharhut Sculpture, the figure of warriors⁸ represents curly hair fastened by a fillet (Ill. XVI. Prof. Ghurye says “the head dress of warrior of Bharhut, is close fitting round cap with two streamer at the back, a kind of helmet”⁹ (fig. 81). In the scene of Dharmaruchi Avadāna, Bharhut, the curly hair of the men is divided on the right side.¹⁰ The figure of flying Gandharva, Pitalkhora¹¹ shows the curly hair locks. The Amarakosh has the word ‘Churnakuntala’¹² for curly hair. In Sāñchī Sculptures, the hair of a charioteer¹³ is curly. An antepole-rider, Sāñchī,¹⁴ is shown with curled hair combed and brought forward on the forehead. “This is very interesting way of hair dressing and appears utterly un-Indian. It reminds us of the hair style of the nobleman of the Imperial Roman Court as evident from their statues”.¹⁵ Still earlier the Hellenistic Greeks also used to comb their hair in this fashion.¹⁶ The statue of Indra, as the Brāhmaṇa Sāntī depicted at Bodhgayā has represented wearing top knot of curly hair.¹⁷

1. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 3.

2. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 20.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

4. K. Krishnamurti, H. S. A. I., pl. IV, 15.

5. Deshpande, “The Rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan,” *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LXII, p. 86.

6. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, no. 1.

7. S. K. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 78.

8. Barua “*Barhut*”, pl. LXII.

9. Ghurye, *Op. cit.*, p. 86, fig. 141.

10. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXIX, fig. 85.

11. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. III.

12. *Amarakosha*, II, 6, 95-97.

13. Maisey, “*Op. cit.*”, pl. VII, fig. 1.

14. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 18.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

17. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 39.

8. Śikhaṇḍa—Sometimes the whole mass of hair is gathered in a ball like appearance (fig. 78) or with slight variation over the head. It may be on the top of head¹ or on the side.² In Ajantā Paintings, the head dress of the King³ is like a 'maulibandha'.⁴ Sometimes, the whole mass of hair is on the right side and is twisted into a looped spherical knot on the fore-head.⁵ Sometimes, the whole mass of hair is divided in two or three knots on the head and a cloth is wrapped around the knot (fig. 119).⁶ Sometimes, two knots are formed, one behind the other on the head (fig. 82).⁷ Sometimes, two locks appear one above another (Ill. VI).⁸ Sometimes a long lock is there on the top of the head,⁹ like 'jaṭā-mukuṭa'.¹⁰

9. Lalāṭajuta¹¹—Sometimes a bun of hair is formed on the forehead. In Pitalkhora sculptures a conch shell (kambu) shaped¹² and a dum-shaped¹³ knots appeared.

10. Jaṭā-bhāra¹⁴—It is a common coiffure among the ascetics and sages. They tied their matted hair in a knot on the top of head at front¹⁵ or back.¹⁶ This hair style can be identified as a combination of 'jatabhara' and 'sikhanda' modes (fig. 111). At Bharhut,¹⁷ Sanchi,¹⁸ and Amaravati,¹⁹ the depiction of this coiffure (jaṭā-bhāra & śikhaṇḍa modes combined) is profuse.

11. Mayurātapatra Śekhara²⁰—Sometimes the hairdress is formed in the mode of peacock plume projection on the top of head.²¹

12. Sometimes the knot of hair at top takes a form of petals of flower.²²

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1. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXV, fig. 3; Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63.
 2. R. C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Yaksha and Yakshini Statue from Ben-nagar", "*Lalit-Kalā*", no. 14, pl. XIV, fig. 2.
 3. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., pl. 48.
 4. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 106.
 5. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 19.
 6. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 5.
 7. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 69.
 8. R. C. Agrawala, "Unpublished Barhut Reliefs in the Indian Museum", New Delhi, *Lalit Kala*, no. 14, pl. XIV, fig. 2.
 9. *Ibid.*, pl. XX, fig. 10.
 10. Krishnamurti, *Hair styles in Ancient India*, p. 13.
 11. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 24.
 12. Deshpande, "The rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, no. 15, pl. LIX, B.
 13. *Ibid.*, pl. LXI, B.
 14. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 106.
 15. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 13, P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. II.
 16. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XIV, 10.
 17. *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVI, 130.
 18. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 2.
 19. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., pl. VII, 15, 16, 17, 18.
 20. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 190.
 21. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XLVII, No. 47.
 22. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXXI, fig. 2.

CHAPTER VI

Female Head-Dress and Coiffure

The appearance and attractiveness of women depend very much on their head dress and style of hair how they arrange and adorn it. Head dress is an important attire in females, Indian women covered their head from very early times. Nearchus says, "The Indians used two garments of cotton, an undergarment which reaches below the knee half way down to the ankles, and an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head".¹

Maurya period

In the Mauryan period, stone sculptures are very limited. Some Yakshi images and some metal objects are found which throw light on the head dress of females. There are abundant material of terracottas from which we know the head dress and dressing of this period. The stone sculptures of this period are represented wearing simple head dress while the terracottas have been shown wearing simple as well as elaborate head dresses.

(1) Sometime the females use the 'orhani' to cover the head. A Mathura sculpture wears the 'orhani'. The 'orhani' of Mathura mother goddess² (excavated in 1976) wears the orhani adorned by double beaded chain.

(2) The 'orhani', of Besnagar Yakshi is decorated by beads lining.³ Coif like head dress was also in vogue. It is worn mostly by the mother goddess depicted in ring-stones.⁴ A bronze statue of mother goddess, Adichchanallur, wears the "coif like head dress with falling hair locks at the back of the head".⁵

(3) Besides these the cap is also worn by females. Sometime a close fitting cap is seen.⁶

In terracottas, besides these head-dresses, the peculiar type of elaborate head-dress is represented. The dancing girl from Patna,⁷ wears horn like head dress

1. Mc. Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 224.

2. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., p. 168, fig. 3, pl. 81, d.

3. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 158.

4. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. M. G. V. D., figs. 1, 16.

5. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 65-66.

6. P. L. Gupta, P. M. C. A., pl. XXXIX.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. XL1.

decorated with rosettes. Dr. P. L. Gupta has described the head dress in the words, "head is surrounded by a high head gear, affixed to which is on either side a hanging horn-like thing with pointed shape and big rosettes in a line above, a bigger one in the centre and two smaller ones on sides. Between the rosettes there are clusters of lotus stalks".¹ Another variety of head dress is represented in the figure of smiling girl from Bulandibag, (fig. 121).² Dr. P. L. Gupta has interpreted the head dress of this figure as follows :—"The smiling girl has round face and bicornet head dress. The hair is marked on the high forehead coming forth from underneath the rim of the head-dress. The lateral horns rise from the broad and high curves of the dressed hair and are covered with affixed strands of hair. At the back flat pieces of cloth hang down and are affixed in the middle".³ Sometimes the lateral plaque appears to have been set close to the head and tube like streamer hangs in loops from the head gear and along the arms.⁴ The female terracotta girl from Sonapur, Bihār⁵ wears the bicornet head dress. Dr. S. P. Gupta interpretes it "Hair is covered with a scarf which is tied loosely but most delicately round the bicornate masses. It has been secured in the front with a fillet topped with a disc in the centre. It's closest parallel is the head cover of nurses in hospital and recalls Sakkos of Greek women".⁶ The head dress of Bulandibag⁷ girl is simple. She wears unicornet head dress with round rim against the high forehead and supported by a frame work (fig. 130). The Buxer figurines have arranged their hair in a varieties of styles (figs. 122, 123). The simplest head dress is made of a triangular straw hat like cap extending on the two sides much in excess of the size of the head. It is ornamented with several parallel rows of floral designs" (fig. 124).⁸ Another figurine consist disproportionately large turban or hat, beautifully decorated with geometrical and floral motifs covering most of the forehead as well as the ears (fig. 122).⁹ Dr. P. L. Gupta has interpreted, "a triangular head dress made of three pieces of rolls covered with check designs, two longer pieces placed on either side of the head and the small one in the centre joining the two. This type of head dress is probably a turban made of a checkered cloth."¹⁰

Sometimes, the head dress consists of rosettes. It is most characteristic feature of Mathura terracotta of mother goddesses. Sometimes, it consists of four

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1. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., p. 33, fig. 54.
 2. P. L. Gupta, P. M. C. A., pl. XL.
 3. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., p. 32.
 4. S. Sahaiya, I. C. C. O., fig. 15.
 5. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 81, d.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
 7. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 80, e.
 8. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 47, p. 31.
 9. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 79, C. & D.
 10. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., p. 30, fig. 49.

rosettes.¹ While in other specimens they wear bichromate head dress consisting of a series of rosettes, (fig. 125).² Sometimes bicornate head dress appears decorated with a series of rosettes interconnected.³ In few cases, bicornet head dress is decorated with rosettes and barrel shaped scratched beads.⁴ At times, "a number of the figurines have wig like head dress, which covers both sides and is stamped with rosettes. Each vertical band has five to seven rosettes in a row; but some bands have double rows of rosettes".⁵ A Mathura terracotta (recently excavated) has the head dress consisting of rosettes and flower, decorated in middle. Dr. S. P. Gupta has described, "the hair and the beaded hair band are visible through heavy scarf covering the head and falling on the shoulders. Applique rounded decorate it while large floral disc is studded in the front. This head-cover is further surrounded by wreath of fully open flowers running round a bunch of buds".⁶

Coiffure—Sometimes, the females do not use the separate head gear but they arrange their hair in artistic manner and decorate with pearls and ornaments. The Didarganj Yakshi (Ill. II)⁷ is the best example of the Mauryan period. Spooner says about this figure that "the head itself is wreathed with ropes of beads of pearls caught upto a point in front above a large and prominent disc of some kind placed centrally over the forehead and then laid backward in a double line along the parting to find fastening beneath the luxuriant tresses of the coiffure behind; the loose hair of the figure has been allowed to fall at the back and the end is looped and knotted in two rounds".⁸ Sometimes the hair is combed parted in middle covering most part of forehead (fig. 129).⁹ A *lalātikā* ornament appears in middle of hair on the forehead. Sometimes the parted hair is trimmed with beaded ornament, surmounted with a rosette plaque (fig. 127).¹⁰ The head dress of mother goddess of a Vaisali ring stone shows, "the hair falls in a braid on the proper left

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1. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bharatiya Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 5.
 2. *Ibid.*, fig. 7.
 3. *Ibid.*, fig. 9.
 4. *Ibid.*, fig. 12.
 5. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., figs. 32-35, p. 27.
 6. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., p. 143, pl. 73.
 7. *Ibid.*, pl. 42, b.
 8. Spooner, "The Didarganj Image now in the Patna Museum", J. B. O. R. S. Vol. V, 1919, p. 110.
 9. P. K. Agrawala, "Early Indian Bronzes", pl. 70.
 10. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bharata Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 15.

secured by a clasp resembling naga-mudra".¹ Sometimes the bicornate head dress is decorated with a series of applied and punched fillets (fig. 126).²

Śuṅga Period

The head dress of the Śuṅga period are given below :

Veil—The veil is an important head dress in this period. In the Bharhut³ and Sāñchī⁴ sculptures, it is represented. The females have been shown wearing either plain or embroidered veil (Ill. XX). The veil of Chulakoka Devata⁵ simply falls down the back, but Chanda's veil is more elaborate (Ill. XI).

Sometimes, the females wear oṛhani on the head. In Bharhut & Sāñchī the oṛhani seems worn by most females. Sometimes, it is simple piece of cloth covering the head and falling down the back (figs. 159, 160, 163).⁶ This oṛhani is at times secured to the head with a fillet (Figs. 161, 162, 164).⁷ The top part of the oṛhani is sometimes arranged in the shape of fan (figs. 165, 166)⁸ or surmounted by a fan shaped ornament (fig. 167).⁹ A stone sculpture depicted at railing of Kausambi,¹⁰ wears the oṛhani with beaded chain on forehead (fig. 138). In the Jaggayyapeta sculpture,¹¹ the female is also represented showing some portion of hair in front. In terracotta figurines also it is popular i.e. the figures of Mother-goddess from 'Ahichchhatra'¹² and Kauśāmbī.¹³ A terracotta figurine from Kausambi¹⁴ is represented wrapping a mantle enveloping the head and body both (fig. 137, Ill. XLV). In the Sanchi Sculpture a female figure of dancing girl¹⁵ has worn the 'oṛhani' tied by a girdle and highly adorned with flowers, jewels and beads. Sometimes a simple scarf was worn on the head and some portion of it was wrapped around the braid.¹⁶ Sometimes, "the head consists of a piece of cloth with

1. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., p. 60.

2. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhavan", "*Chhavi*", 1976, fig. 11.

3. Cunningham, "*Bharhut*", pl. XXII.

4. F. C. Maisey, "*Sanchī and its Remains*", pl. XIV, fig. 7.

5. Barua, "*Barhut*", pl. LXIV, 75; Cunningham, "*Bharhut*", pl. XXIII.

6. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., figs. 44, 45, 46.

7. *Ibid.*, figs. 47, 48, 49.

8. *Ibid.*, fig. 50, 51.

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 52.

10. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXIX, fig. 74.

11. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.

12. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhawan" *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 37, p. 9.

13. *Ibid.*, figs. 33, 35, p. 9.

14. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 124.

15. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 4.

16. *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, fig. 2.

rolled rim against the forehead. The loop ends of the cloth are tied at the back much in same fashion as the kerchief on the head of nurses in modern time".¹ Sometimes the head is covered by a double banded cloth.²

Coif—sometimes, the females are represented wearing coif like head dress. Mostly the figure of Gajalakshmi is represented wearing coif that is seen depicted at Bharhut,³ Sāñchī,⁴ Bodhgayā⁵ (fig. 173), Kausambi,⁶ etc. Sometimes it is decorated by beaded chain, (fig. 133).⁷ Sometimes, it is simple⁸ and sometimes with plume on both sides.⁹ Sometimes, it is decorated with central crest jewel.¹⁰ Sometimes, the head gear takes the form of snake hood (fig. 134).¹¹

The head gear of Pitalakhora Gajalakshmi is very interesting.¹² The head gear is centrally parted and has a big bun at its middle top and a leaf ornament at its base. A flower wreath is also hanging on both shoulders from below the hair framing the head (fig. 132).¹³

Cap—Cap is also worn by females during this period. Sometimes, the female wears the simple scull cap (fig. 174).¹⁴ Sometimes, they wear decorated cap with a fringed of pendant (fig. 169).¹⁵ Sometimes, they wear simple cap with slight projection on left side.¹⁶ Sometimes "the hair is arranged vertically in coils and covered under a conical head gear showing rope pattern with crass band running in vertical position to keep the coils in position"¹⁷ (fig. 135).

In few cases, the females wear helmet. In one case helmet is with an axe like projection on the top of the head (fig 172).¹⁸ Sometimes,¹⁹ it consists of

1. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., p. 33.
2. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 80, C.
3. Barua, *Barhut*, Pt. III, pl. LXVII, 80.
4. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. XXIV.
5. Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 11.
6. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXX, 77, a.
7. Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 11; V. S. Agrawala, *Bhārātiya Kalā*, fig. 269.
8. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 21, a, Murtaziganj ring stone.
9. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXX, 77, a.
10. *Ibid.*
11. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 20, a.
12. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LV. A.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
14. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 55.
15. *Ibid.*, fig. 56.
16. Barua, *Buddhagaya*, fig. 72.
17. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., fig. 9.12, p. 152.
18. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 57.
19. Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 43 (b).

'Vajra' like symbol in the middle hanging below (fig. 170). In few cases she wears "a slanting head gear decorated with dot and star symbols. The bottom part of the head gear has also a bordered panel containing star symbol"¹ (fig. 175). Sometimes, she wears conical head gear with division into sections and decorated with punched stars and dots (fig. 131).² This type of conical head gear is also represented in Bodhgaya.³ But it is kept oblique over the head top knot on left side. Similar head dress is also worn by a female figure from Rajassan, Muzaffarpur Distt.⁴

Turban—In this period, turban was also in vogue. In the Bodhgaya sculptures, turban is mostly seen. Sometimes, a ball shape appearance on the head⁵ or sometimes, two oval knot on right side are seen above the ear.⁶ Sometimes, a very simple turban like a piece of cloth is worn, one end of which is not tied and hangs on left side.⁷ Sometimes, it is worn by ascetic females (figs. 168, 171).⁸ In some case, it is tied around the head top knot and one free end slings on left side (fig. 176, Ill. XXIV).⁹ A female dancer also wears the turban.¹⁰ In a case of Sanchi, a Chauri bearer wears head dress with Naga hood.¹¹ In some cases, they wear simple turban.¹² Crossing of both loop is seen in front.

Some other varieties of head dresses depicted in terracottas

There are a lot of terracotta figurines which reveal the many varieties of head-dress. Sometimes, the head dress consists some auspicious symbols. This type of head dress may be seen in the figures of Kausambi,¹³ Mathura,¹⁴ Tamluk,¹⁵ Ahichchhatra,¹⁶ and Rājghāt.¹⁷ The important symbols are 'triśula', 'vajra',

1. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 130, p. 49, no. 263.

2. *Ibid.*, fig. 128, p. 49. no. 261.

3. Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 25, a.

4. *A. S. I.*, 1918-19, pl. XVII, fig. 58; Ghurye, *Indian Costume*, fig. 229.

5. Barua, *Buddha-gayā*, fig. 72.

6. *Ibid.*, fig. 41.

7. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XI, fig. 29.

8. Moti Chandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 101 & 102.

9. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXX, 23.

10. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. 15.

11. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 3.

12. *Ibid.*, pl. IX.

13. S. C. Kala, T. A. M. fig. 21, 23.

14. S. C. Kala. B. M. K., fig. 17.

15. Johnston, "A Terracotta figurine at Oxford", J. I. S. O. A., Vol. X, pl. IX, fig. 1.

16. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta figurines from Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly, *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXII, 12.

17. A. K. Narain and P. K. Agrawala, *Excavations at Rajghat*, Vol. IV, pl. XXVI, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., p. 156.

'chopper', 'dhvaja', 'aṅkusa' etc. The head dress of Tamluka terracotta in Oxford Museum is very elaborate. E. H. Johnston has interpreted, "The hair in itself seems to be enclosed in a closefitting bonnet (or fillet) bordered with four rows of beads and terminating in two flower tassels, the frontal hair being just visible. There is an arched line across the forehead below the hair, whose significance is not clear to me and below this are traces of a 'tilaka' mark in usual place above the bridge of the nose. On each side of the bonnet are two turban like rolls of cloth, each bound with a belt and highly ornate. The left hand one, which is the larger in accordance with the usual practice of this class of figure, is made up of five vertical strips with dependent tassels or strings of beads at regular intervals, while the right hand one appears to be in a single piece, embellished with six rows of flower ornament, between which are strings of beads. Stuck into the latter are five emblems, of the kind which indicate power of fortune. The lowest one is an 'aṅkusa', the mindle one axe. The two on each side of the latter are of the 'trisula' shape, the lower one being surmounted with a crown and the upper by a triangular pointed piece, possibly they are two shapes of vajra. The emblem appears to be flag or fan. Each of the five has a string jewelled cap, containing the hair".¹ S. C. Kala has described the head dress of Kauśāmbī terracotta as "she wears an elaborate head dress composed of two high rolls bound by ribbons decorated with square designs and parted in the middle by a conical projection; five symbols are pinned on the left side roll and five curved long leaves probably ears of corn, on the right, rows of beads below the hair ridge ending in lotus terminals and a trapezoid line on the forehead"² (III. XLIII). In few cases, only three emblems such as 'bāṇa', 'dhvaja' and 'aṅkuśa' are present.³ In a Rājghāt terracotta⁴ five auspicious emblems such as goad (aṅkuśa), a trident (trisula), a battle axe (parasu) an arrow-head (bāṇa) and a banner (dhvaja) are present at right side. It is also seen that five-five emblems are present on both sides.⁵

Besides these symbols in some cases the outer framing of head dress is achieved by the rich foliage of a palm tree. The Kauśāmbī terracotta⁶ has the head dress in two high rolls parted in the middle by an oval shaped decorated plaque. On the left roll five symbols are pinned while on the right four or five palm fronds curved at top are present. The Mathura terracottas also are represented wearing palm

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1. E. H. Johnston, "A Terracotta Figurine at Oxford", J. I. S.O.A, vol. X, p. 110, pl. IX.
 2. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 21, p. 15, no. 57.
 3. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly", *Ancient India*, no. 4, pl XXXII, 12.
 4. A. K. Narain and P. K. Agrawala, Excavations at Rajghat, pt. IV, pl. XXVI. S. P. Gupta, *Op. cit.*, p. 156.
 5. S. C. Kala, B. M. K., fig. 16.
 6. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 22 & 26.

fonds and auspicious symbols. In an instance,¹ she dressed her hair in two rolls parting in middle, each covered with tiny rosettes. The left roll consisted of eight or nine palm fronds and the right five symbols. In the middle of both rolls, a flower cluster is present (Ill. XLII). Sometimes, the female wears unicornate head dress pinned with palm fronds.²

In few head dresses 'Śrīvatsa' symbol is present (fig 136).³ The terracotta figure from Mathura has worn the head dress consisting Śrīvatsa motif identified by Dr. P. K. Agrawala.⁴ "On both side the Śrīvatsa motif is designed more like a scorpion".⁵

Sometimes, she wears a heavy head dress, made of a series of rosettes, strands of beads and palm fronds.⁶ Sometimes, she wears unicornate head dress with projection on the left.⁷ According to Dr. S. C. Kala, "the palm tree was associated with mother goddess culture in mesopotamia. It was profusely depicted in the art of the country. Palm tree is also seen in Mauryan ring stones found at Kauśāmbi and Rajghat".⁸

Sometimes, the head dress consists of the rosettes. A terracotta figure from Ahichhatra⁹ has worn the head dress consisting of three rosettes, two above the ear and one in the centre. A terracotta female head in the Sardar Museum, Jhodhpur¹⁰ consists of three rosettes on the head. The middle rosette is bigger. Sometimes, the head dress consists of bead strings, pearls and ornaments. The Rajghat mother Goddesses¹¹ wears bicornet head dress with central plaque and covered with bead strings. The head dress of Kausambi Mother Goddess¹² is elongated, decorated with strands of beads. In few cases, the head dress is simple but decorated with three strands of pearls.¹³

1. S. C. Kala, B. M. K., fig. 17.
2. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhavan", *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 22.
3. P. K. Agrawala, *Śrīvatsa*, pl. 8, p. 30.
4. *Ibid.*, pl. 7, p. 30.
5. For another example of Mathura, see, I. A. R., 1967-68, pl. XXIX. A.
6. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhavan", *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 23.
7. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 70-71.
8. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., p. 16.
9. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareill.", *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXI, fig. 5.
10. R. C. Agrawala, "Two Unpublished Antiquities from the Sardar Museum", *Lalit Kala*, Vol. XXVI, fig. 3.
11. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhavan", *Chhavi*, 1976, fig. 29.
12. *Ibid.*, fig. 30. p. 9.
13. *Ibid.*, fig. 19, p. 8.

Decoration of flowers in head dress was also in vogue. The terracotta figurine from Kauśāmbī¹ wears the head dress decorated in centre with two fully blown small flowers. Another terracotta from the same site, wears a big lotus flower in the middle and on both the sides, five leaves are pinned.² The terracotta figurine of Sri Lakshmi³ has worn elaborate head dress and consists of two big rolls on either sides with parting line in the middle. From each roll, a fillet hangs on either side of her face (Ill. XL).

Other Coiffurs

There are many styles of hair dressing depicted at Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi, Mathura, Pauni and other sculptures and in terracotta figurines from various sites of this period. Some of these are given below :

1. *Flowing hair* : In the Sanchi sculpture a female worshipper⁴ in relief exhibits this kind of hair style. She just combed her hair and allowed it to dangle on her back. She has clearly parted the hair and 'sīmanta' or 'keśavithi' is quite clear. A slight deviation from this can be seen in another female where she has mentioned hair style almost similar to the above without 'keśavithi'.⁵ In another case the hair is flowing on the back with the ends rolled upwards (fig. 141).⁶ In the scene of Vessantara Jataka, Bharhut the⁷ hair of females is dangling on the shoulders without showing 'sīmanta'. Sometimes, the flowing hair is tied at forehead by a decoration piece. The dancing girl of Sanchi is an example of this type.⁸ Sometimes some portion of hair is knotted and some is free to flow. Dr. S. C. Kala describes the head dress of a terracotta, "the hair combed and coiled on the right, part of loose hair hang on the left shoulder and arm".⁹

2. *Hair combed and secured in a knot close to the head*—Sometimes, the women combed their hair backwards and knotted into a roundish bun with a knot close to the head (figs. 150, 151).¹⁰ In the scene of Raja and his retinue depicted in Cave X, Ajanta, the female has dressed her hair in a knot close to the nape of the

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1. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., fig. 9.7.
 2. S. C. Kala, T. A. M. fig. 34.
 3. *Ibid.*, fig. 70.
 4. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XLVIII.
 5. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXXV.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV, F. C. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 1.
 7. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XIX, fig. 47, a.
 8. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 5 & 6.
 9. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 33, p. 18, No. 76.
 10. Barua, Barhut, pls. LXXXIII, 121, LXXXVI, 130; Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XXV.

neck and a scarf is worn over the head ¹ Sometimes, a scarf or handkerchief tied to a bun is revealed in the case of a lady depicted at Bharhut.² Sometimes, the ascetics wear the top knot of matted hair (fig. 153, Ill. XXV).³

3. *Hair looped and knotted loosely*—Sometimes, the lady appears with her hair arranged in a loop and knotted at back (fig. 148).⁴ Sometimes, this type of hair style is further embellished with flower wreath (Ill. XXII) as seen in the case of a lady worshipper revealed in the panel illustrating Bodhi-tree worship depicted at Bharhut.⁵ In other instances such hair style is covered with a scarf,⁶ while in another case the loose hair is fastened together by an ornament (fig. 149).⁷ This style is specially favoured by the village women. In few cases, the hair style is further added with a spherical knot over the head as seen in the scene of Bodhi-tree worship depicted at Bharhut (fig. 155).⁸ In the scene of Maya's dream (Ill. XVII)⁹ the females wear the 'keśapāsa'¹⁰ hair style in which the loose looped knot hangs on the back (fig. 154). Around the head a ornamental fillet is bound. Sometimes, the loose knot is formed on both sides. "A pair of loose locks are shown falling on each shoulder" in figure of the Bombay Yaksha.¹¹

4. *Head top knot Śikhaṇḍa*—A female figure depicted in the sculpture of Maya's dream (Ill. XVII)¹² exhibits this kind of hair style. She has knotted her hair in the shape of an egg in front on the head (fig. 152). This is typical hair style where 'śikhaṇḍa' and jaṭābhāra are combined. This style is mostly used by 'tapasvini' and ascetics. A female head inside a medallion on cross bar Mathura,¹³ has a top knot tied with a beaded band with drum shaped ornament. Sometimes, the knot takes the form of peacock plume (fig. 147).¹⁴ Sometimes, it takes the form of flower,¹⁵ which reminds us of the coiffure of Burmese women.

1. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., pl. 48.
2. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXXVIII, 196.
3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLVIII, 3.
4. Barua, *Barhut*, pls. XIV, 10, a, XLIV, 44.
5. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXXVI, No. 31.
6. K. Krishnamurti, H. S. A. I. pl. III, 7.
7. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXXV. fig. 2., Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 13, p. 200.
8. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXXVI, no. 31, XLIV, 44.
9. H. Zimmer, A. I. A., pl. 31, d.
10. Sivaramamurti, A. S. M. G. M., p. 106
11. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 133, fig. 69.
12. Zimmer, A. I. A., pl. 31, d.
13. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 20.
14. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XVIII.
15. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 200, fig. 11.1; Fergusson, T. S. W., XXXII, fig. 20.

Sometimes, two knots are formed on the right side, one is bigger than another (fig. 144).¹ In some cases, the head dress consists of the knot on left side adorned by a beaded chain on forehead (fig. 139).² In another figure a large knot on left side appears which is covered with a cap with plume.³ Sometimes, two knots are seen on right side. In Mathura Sculpture⁴ two big knots appear on right side, upper one is triangular and lower is oval, which falls on the shoulder. In the Pauni sculptures⁵ a female wears the left top knot. Sometimes, a conch-shaped (Kumbha) knot is formed on the head.⁶ Sometimes, the hair is dressed like a fan tied with a fillet.⁷ Sometimes, the female wears "a high head gear formed in three tiers and bound by ornamental ribbons, part of hair visible on the forehead."⁸ Sometimes, the hair is arranged in heavy chignon on right side with many tiers.⁹ In a case, "the hair arranged in two high rolls parted in the middle by a projection decorated with tiny circlet and held up by fillets, two symbols inserted on the left side roll; an ornamental band from head hangs on either side of the head".¹⁰ In few cases, "the hair combed in semi-circular roll held up by fillet; part of hair coiled on the right. She has an ornamental fillet on the head which emerging from the coil of the hair, hangs on the right".¹¹

Sometimes, the hair is combed with slight projections on either sides of the simant (fig. 143).¹² The hair is dressed with two protuberance on both sides with middle projection or crest (fig. 142).¹³ The hair is adorned by a beaded chain at forehead. The lady flute players¹⁴ have combed their hair backwards. A few locks of hair at back are arranged to form a loop for tucking it into a tuft (fig. 146).

5.1. Braided hair—(Venī & Praveṇī) Hair is combed back and allowed to sling on the back. The locks of hair fall on the back and are further plaited. This type of hair style is seen with a lady musician depicted at Bharhut

1. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 6.
2. Barua *Buddhagayā*, fig. 69.
3. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pl. XIX, medallion
4. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.
5. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, 3.
6. Deshpandey, "The Rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LVII.
7. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 7.
8. S. C. Kala, T. A. M. fig. 27, p. 17, no 67.
9. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX.
10. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., p. 15, no. 55.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15, no. 54.
12. J. Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples*, fig. 485, Ancient Lota, Kullu.
13. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl 77, a. fig. 5.
14. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XI;
K. Krishnamurti, H. S. A. I., fig. VI, 12.

(fig. 156).¹ In this case the hair has been falling down at the back and then divided into two equal halves which are further subdivided into two parts and plaited, as is done by the young girls of present day (III. XIV). Sometimes the whole mass of hair has divided into four equal parts and then plaited. The plaited hair also is seen in Sāñchi sculpture (fig. 158).² In the figure of the Chanda Yakshi³ braided hair inter woven with embroidered ribbon hangs on right side (III. XI). Sometimes, it hangs on left side.⁴ A Yakshi image of Mehrauli⁵ also dresses her hair in a braid. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted, "the long braid of hair inter-woven in two locks coming down to the girdle is shown falling on the side"⁶ (fig. 64). A terracotta figurine from Kausambi wears two braids on both sides. "A braid emerging from each roll hangs on either side of the head; a braided chain is seen along the head ridge on the forehead"⁷ (fig. 140). A female dancer depicted at Sāñchi⁸ dresses her hair in pearls allowed to dangle from the nape but the tail end of the hair is left unplaited (fig. 145). This type of hair style is elaborately adorned with flower wreath (fig. 157). Sometimes, the two braids are tied on forehead.⁹ Sometimes the whole mass of hair is coiled around the head. ¹⁰This mode of wearing the hair being specially favourite with the ascetic women.¹¹

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1. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXXIX.
 2. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXX, fig. 1;
Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 9, p. 200.
 3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII.
 4. *Ibid.*, pl. LII
 5. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
 7. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 25, p. 16, no. 62.
 8. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXIV;
Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchi*, pls. XXXII, XVI.
 9. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Cave X, pl. XXX (C).
 10. Moti Chandra, C. T. C. C., p. 200, fig. 10.
 11. Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXXII, 2,

CHAPTER VII

Jewellery and Ornaments : An Introduction

Jewellery is regarded as a traditional form of wealth, but it is also used for personal decoration by both men and women. Love for beauty and adornment is inherent in mankind. Spiritual concepts of beauty are intimately related with physical form and concepts. Jewellery, by its nature becomes an aid to beauty.

The history of ornament can be traced from very early times. In the Vedic, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Epic periods, we get numerous literary references to the use of various types of ornaments. Kauṭilya, Pāṇini and Patañjali have also mentioned various types of ornaments worn in different parts of the body.

The ornaments were made of precious metal like gold, silver etc and were studded with gems as is seen in the real specimens of jewellery found in several hoards at Taxila. Besides these, the ornaments of ivory, bone, copper, glass and terracotta were also used, as we find the actual specimen from the excavation of different sites of this period.

Pearls

Kauṭilya has given various types of pearls and gems which were produced in different places. They have named them according to their producing places. Tāmraparṇika Pāṇḍyaka-vāṭaka, Pāśikya, Kauleya, Chaurṇeya, Māhendra, Kārdamika, Srautasīya, Hrādiya and Haimavata are the several varieties of pearls¹ which were produced in Tāmraparṇi (“a river in the Pāṇḍya country”), Pāṇḍyaka-vāṭa (“a mountain known as Malayakoti in the Pāṇḍya country”), Pāśa (“a river of that name”), Kūla (“a river near the village Mayur, in the island of Simhala”), Churna (“a river near the village, Murachi, in the Keral country”), Māhendra (a mountain), Kārdama (“a river in Persia”), Strotasi (a river falling in the sea), Hrada (“a pool of water known as Srighanta in a corner of sea, Barbara”), and Himālayas respectively.² The oyster shells, conch shells, and other miscellaneous shells are the sources of the pearls.³

Kauṭilya has also described the quality of the inauspicious and auspicious pearls. The pearls which are lentilshaped (masurakam, like masura) triangular (triputaka, like the grain of tripuṭa) tortoise shaped (Kūrmaka), semi-circular (ardhachandrakam), with a layer consisting of several coatings (Kañchukitam), double layered (Yāmaka), scratched (Kartakam), of rough surface (kharakam),

1. Kangle, K. A., Pt. I, 2. 11.2.

2. R. Shamasastri, K. A., pp. 75-76.

3. Kangle, K. A., Pt. I, 2.11.3., p. 51

spotted (siktakam), gourd shaped (kāmaṇḍalukam), and dark, blue coloured are of inauspicious pearls.¹

The pearls which are “big, circular without bottom (nistalam), brilliant (bhrajishṇu), white, heavy, soft to the touch and properly perforated”, are the good pearls.²

Gems

In the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, Pāṇini has mentioned two types of gems, such as ‘lohitaka’ and ‘sasyaka’ which are ruby and emerald respectively.³ Kauṭilya has mentioned several varieties of gems by Kauṭilya which are noted here.⁴ R. Shamasastri has interpreted them as follows :⁵

- (i) “Kunṭa, that which is obtained in Kūṭa; Mauleyaka, that which is found in the Mūleya; and Pārasamudraka, that which is found beyond the ocean.”
- (ii) The ruby of the colour of red lotus flower, or of the colour of saffron, or of the colour of parijāta-flower, or of the colour of rising sun is the ‘Saugandhika’ gem.⁶
- (iii) The gems, of the colour of lotus flower, or of ‘śirisha’ flower, or of colour of water, or of fresh bamboo, or of the colour of parrot wings, are Vaidūrya gems.⁷ Pushyaraga, Gomutraka, and Gomedika are also the varieties of Vaidurya gem.⁸
- (iv) The gems which are characterised with blue lines that which of the colour of the flower of Kalāya, or which is intensely blue which possesses the colour of Jambū-fruit (rose apple), or which is as blue as clouds “are the Indranila gem”.⁹
- (v) The other gems are Nandakas (bleasing gems) which are Sravanmadhya (that which appears to pour water from its centre), Sitavrishti (that which appears to pour cold shower) and Suryakanta (sun-stone).¹⁰

1. Kangle, K. A., Pt. I, 2.11.4.

2. *Ibid.*, 2.11.5.

3. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 231.

4. Kangle, K. A., pt. I, 2.11.28.

5. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 77.

6. *Ibid.*, Kangle, K. A. Pt. I, 2.11.29.

7. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 78.

8. *Ibid.*, 291.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 78; Kangle, K. A. Pt. I, 2.11.31.

10. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*, 2.11.32.

The gems which are hexagonal quadrangular, or circular, possessed of dazzling glow, pure, smooth, heavy, brilliant, transparent (*antargataprabhā*) and illuminating are the best.¹

The gems, which are of faint colour, sandy layer, spots, holes, bad perforation and scratches, are the defective gems.²

'Vimalaka' (pure gem), Sasyaka (plant like), Anjanamūlaka (dark blue), Pittak (the colour of bile) Sulabhaka (easily procurable), Lohitāksha (red), Jyotirāsaka (glowing), Maileyaka: ("vermilion coloured"), Ahichchhatraka (produced Ahichchhatraka), Kūrpa ("with sand grains") in side, Putikūrpa ("of the colour of bees' wax"), Sugandhikūrpa ("like mudga bean"), Kshiravaka (like milk"), Suktichurnaka (like the powder of oyster shell"), Silāpravālaka ("like coral"), Pulaka ("with a dark interior"), Śukrapulaka ("with a white interior") are the subsidiary types of the gems.³ The rest are the artificial gems (*kāchamani*).⁴

Diamond—Kauṭilya has described the varieties of diamond which came from different sources. R. Shamasastri interpretes them as follows :⁵

- (i) Sabhārāshṭraka, that which is found in the country of Sabhārashṭra."
- (ii) Madhyamarā shṭraka, "that which is found in central provinces".
- (iii) Kāśmaka, "that which is found in the country of Kāśmaka". In the commentary of Bhaṭṭaswamin, it is identified as Kāśī.⁶
- (iv) Śrīkaṭanak, "that which is found in the vicinity of the mountain". According to Oldham, "the locality is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Jabalpur Distt. There are villages called Kotanga and Katangi still in the vicinity".⁷
- (v) Maṇimantaka, "that which is found near the mountain Maniman or Maṇimanta".
- (vi) Indravānaka, "that which is found in Kaliṅga country".⁸

The diamonds are found in the mines, streams and at other different places.⁹

1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 78; Kangle, K. A., 2.11.33.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 78; *Ibid.*, 2.11.34.

3. Kangle, K. A., Pt. II, 2.11.35, p. 114.

4. *Ibid.*, 2.11.36.

5. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 78.

6. Kangle, K. A., Pt. II, p. 115, f.n. 37.

7. Kangle, K. A., Pt. II, p. 115, f.n. 37.

8. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 78, f.n. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

The colour of diamond may be like that of a cat's eye, that of the . . . śirīsha flower, cow's urine, cow's bile, pure alam crystal (sphaṭika) the flower of Malati, and or like the colour of any gem.¹

The qualities of the best diamond are big, heavy, hard (prahārasaham), regular, (samakoṇa) capable of scratching on the surface of vessels (bhāganalekhi), refractive of light (kubhrāmi) and brilliant shining.² The diamond "which is devoid of angles, uneven (nirasrikam) and bent on one side (pārśvāpavṛittam) is inauspicious"

Coral (Pravāla)

Kauṭilya has mentioned two types of coral, Ālakandaka (obtained in the mouth of the river of Barbara", and Vaivarṇaka (obtained in Vivarṇa, which is "the name of the ocean near the island of Yavanas").³ These are of ruby like colour and very hard.

Gold

Kauṭilya had recorded that various types of gold were found in rivers, mountains and mines in India. Shamasastri, has interpreted them as follows⁴ :—

- (i) Jāmbūnada that which is the product of the river Jambū; and is of the colour of "rose apple and is available only to angles."
- (ii) Śātakumbha, that which is extracted from the "mountain of Śātakumbha "This is of the colour of petals of a lotus flower."
- (iii) Hāṭaka, "that which is extracted from the mines known as Hāṭaka." "This is of the colour of the flower of Vitex Trifolia."
- (iv) Vaiṇava, that which is product of the mountain Veṇu" and has the colour of the flower of Karnikara or of Cassia Fistula".
- (v) Śṛiṅgasuktija, that which is extracted from the Śṛiṅgasukti" and "has the colour of red arsenic".

Gold may be obtained either pure or amalgamated with mercury or silver.

Kauṭilya has mentioned three qualities of the gold. He says that (i) the gold of "the colour of lotus, ductile, glossy, incapable of making any continuous sound (anādi) and glittering is the best", (ii) the gold of "reddish yellow (raktapīta) is of middle quality and that which is red is of low quality".⁵ Kauṭilya says, the pure gold is of turmeric colour.

1. Kangle, K. A. Pt. I., 2.11.39.

2. *Ibid.*, 2.11.40.

3. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 79.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 89

5. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Touch stone

It is used for the test of the gold. The best touch stone is soft, lustrous and uniform. "The touch stone of the Kaliṅga country with the colour of green beans is also the best". "That which possesses the colour of an elephant, tinged with green colour and capable of reflecting light (pratirāgi) is good in selling gold." That which is hard, durable and of uneven colour and not reflecting light, is good for purchasers (Krayāhitāḥ). "That which is grey, greasy, of uniform colour, soft and glossy is the best."¹ Pāṇini mentions 'ākarshika', the person who is skilled in testing gold on the touch stone (ākarsha).²

From Taxila, the pieces of touch stone are excavated bearing the streaks of gold which are still visible.³ It appears that the gold was actually tested on these pieces. Kautilya's instruction that the gold should be tested on touchstones, appears to have been based on the actual practice.

Silver

Kautilya has mentioned many types of silver which are produced in different places.⁴

- (i) Tutthodgata, "that which is extracted from the mountain Tuttha" and has "the colour of the flower of Jasminum".
- (ii) Gauḍik, "that which is the product of the country known as Ganda", and has "the colour of the flower of agaru, aloe".
- (iii) Kāmbuka, "that which is extracted from the mountain Kambu", and "has the colour of the flower of Kunda, a kind of jasmine".
- (iv) Chākravālika, "that which is extracted from the mountain chakravāla".

The pure silver "becomes full of globules, white, glowing and of the colour of curd". "Silver which is white, glossy, and ductile is the best and that which is of the reverse quality is bad".⁵ For removing the impurities from silver, "the impure silver shall be heated with lead of one-fourth the quantity of the impurity."⁶

Suvarṇakāra

Patañjali mentions the goldsmiths (Svarṇakāra), who could make different kinds of ornaments out of gold.⁷ Kautilya has also mentioned the goldsmiths. The

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1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 91.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 235.
 3. Marshall, Taxila, Vol. II, p. 502, no. 121, 122.
 4. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 90.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
 6. *Ibid.*,
 7. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 97.

goldsmiths shall have the qualities of purification of gold and silver and its preparation for manufacturing of jewellery and ornaments.

“The superintendent of gold shall have a goldsmith’s office (akshaśālā).” In the commentary used by Shamasastri, it is written “Akshaśālā is a name of the chamber in which the artistic work of gold and other metals is carried out.”² The office of goldsmiths (akshaśālā) consists four room and one door. Kauṭilya says that no person shall inter in the office if he is not an employee. Any person who so enters shall be beheaded (uchchhedyah).³ “Goldsmiths who are engaged to prepare the various kinds of ornaments shall inter into or exit from the office after their person and dress are thoroughly examined. All of their instruments, together with their unfinished work, shall be left where they have been at work. The amount of gold which they have received and the ornamental work which they were doing shall be put in the centre of the office. Finished articles shall be examined both morning and evening and be locked up with the seal of both the manufacturer and the Superintendent (Karayatri) the owner getting the articles prepared.”⁴

“The artisans, employed in the office of the State Goldsmith had to do their work as ordered and in time”. When the Goldsmiths spoiled the work, they had to pay a fine of twice the amount of their wages, except they forfeit their wages. “If they postponed their work, they forfeited one fourth the amount of their wages and paid a fine of twice the amount of forfeited wages.”⁵

Maṇikāra

Maṇikāra shall have the knowledge of the every quality of the gems and the identification of the superior and inferior articles of the gems. Manu has mentioned about ‘maṇināmedhakaḥ’ who are the driller of maṇi. He says that “if he broke the gems or improperly drilled them (Vidārana and apavedha), he was fined first amercement (1000 paṇas)”.⁶ The skill of jeweller can be assumed by the fact that Kauṭilya has mentioned various kinds of pearl strings (Yasṭi) which are sub-divided into various classes.⁷

Manufacturing Processes

For manufacturing of any type of ornament, firstly the gold is tested on the touch stone. Pāṇini mentions the man ‘ākarshika’, skilled in testing of

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1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 89.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 89, f.n. 1.
 3. Kangle, K. A., pt. I. 2.13.30-31.
 4. R. Shamasastri, K. A., pp. 91-92.
 5. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 536.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, I. D. M., p. 37.
 7. R. Shamasastri, K. A., pp. 76-77.

gold.¹ The art of the jeweller appears in conceiving the designs and forms of various ornaments. “The process of manufacturing pieces appears to have consisted in extricating the impurities, melting the metal, making it into sheets, drops or ingots hammering it for bringing the shape, cutting it, rivetting or soldering the joints, solid casting, hallow moulding, engraving the pieces, embossing, doing repousse work, carving, decorating the ornaments with granules, drawing wires, setting of gems and doing inlay work with paste and other material.”²

The Goldsmiths use some tools in manufacturing the ornaments which are the crucible, pincers, tongs etc.³ Patañjali mentions ‘kutilika’ for the pincers.⁴

Weighing balance

Kauṭilya says that the goldsmith had weighing balance and counter-weights for the use in weighing diamond, pearls, gems, gold, silver and other precious metals. He indicates also that “weighing balance and counter-weights shall be purchased from the superintendent in charge of them. Otherwise, a fine of 12 panas shall be imposed”.⁵

There are many professional terms used in manufacturing the ornaments which are given below.

1. *Nishṭapati*⁶—When the gold was heated in fire only one time.
2. *Nistapati*⁷—When the gold was heated many times.
3. *Uttapati*⁸—“When the gold was heated in fire for more heating.”
4. *Kshepaṇa*—“Setting of jewels (kacha, glass beads) in gold”.⁹
5. *Kshudra*—“Manufacture of globules furnished with a rounded orifice”.¹⁰
6. *Guṇa*—“The threads making or string making”.¹¹
7. *Kaṇchana*—The ornament made of pure gold.¹²

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1. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 235.
 2. Rai Govinda Chandra, *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
 3. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 96.
 4. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 35.
 5. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 95.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 234.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. Agnihotri, R. K. B., p. 315.
 9. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 92.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

8. *Prishita*—Ornament made of hallow pieces.¹
9. *Tvashṭri*—The ornament, “setting gems in gold”.²
10. *Tapaniya*—“Pure gold prepared for ornamental work”.³

Kauṭilya has also described the quantities of gold and other metals for preparing the various types of ornaments.

- (i) “For setting jewels in gold, five parts of kanchan (pure gold) and ten parts of gold alloyed with four parts copper or silver shall be required quantity”.⁴
- (ii) “For setting jewels in hallow ornament (*bṛishitakāch Karmanath*), three parts of gold to hold the jewels and four parts for bottom shall be required quantity”.⁵
- (iii) “For silver articles, either solid or hollow, silver may be mixed with half of the amount of gold; or by making use of the powder or solution of vermilion, gold equal to one-fourth the amount of silver of the ornament may be painted (*vāsayet*) on it”.⁶

Colouring of gold

It appears that at this time, the Indian jewellers had begun colouring the gold. Kauṭilya mentions *tikshna* or *kākaṇi*, a kind of metal, as a colouring agent for gold.⁷ According to Shamashastry, ‘*tikshṇa*’ is probably copper sulphate.⁸ It produces the colour of neck of peacock. Similarly for white metal (*sveta-tāra*), pure or impure silver treated seventeen times was mixed with gold. In the same way “when three parts of *tapaniya* are melted with thirty-two parts of *svetatara*, the compound becomes reddish white (*svetalohitakam*). When three parts of *tapaniya* are combined with thirty-two parts of copper, the compound becomes yellow (*pīta*). Also when three parts of the colouring ingredient (*tikshṇa*) are heated with *tapaniya*, the compound becomes yellowish red. When two parts of *svetatara* and one part of *tapaniya* are heated, the whole mass becomes as green as *mudga*. When *tapaniya* is drenched in a solution of half the quantity of black iron (*Kālāyasa*), it becomes black.”⁹

1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 91.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, K. A., p. 92, f.n. 2.

8. *Ibid.*, f.n. 3.

9. *Ibid.*, P. 93,

The regular process of enamelling was perhaps not known in Ancient India nor was it known in Egypt before the Roman occupation.¹

Exports and Imports of Ornamental material

Exports

Pliny states that India was “the great producer of the most costly gems”.² The precious stones of India had so impressed the Romanas that in Pliny’s words “Indeed the stones of India it is said, quite dim the sight by their brilliancy.”³ Pliny refers also the Indian precious stones like crystal, quartz, beryl, opal, sordonyx, onyx, carbuncle, amethyst, seven varieties of chrisolithas (supposed to be the oriental topaz). We have already cited evidences from Kauṭilya⁴ with regard to the varieties of gems and pearls.

Beryl (Gomedakaḥ)—“The Indian beryl become popular in Rome”⁵ The Indians take a marvellous pleasure in beryl that are distinguished by their great length, and say that these are the only precious stones which are preferred to wear without gold.”⁶ Kauṭilya, well aware of this precious stone, refers to it as gomedaka, as one of the variety of Vaidūrya gem that its other varieties are called pushyarāga and gomūtraka.⁷ There can be no doubt that the beryl was exported from India to Rome.”⁸

Carnelian

“Another important precious stone, exported from India was the carnelian.”⁹ In Rome, carnelian was imported from India. Outside the India, the carnelian was found in Arabia. “Like the other export from India, the carnelian along with other precious stones must have been first shipped to Alexandria and thence to Rome”.¹⁰ The red carnelian is also known as Sarda because it was found first at Sardis.¹¹ “The Indian stones are transparent, those of Arabia, more opaque”.¹²

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1. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 98.
 2. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 252.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
 4. R. Shamasastri, K. A., pp. 75-77.
 5. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 252.
 6. B. N. Puri, *India in Classical Greek Writings*, p. 131.
 7. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 77.
 8. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 254.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
 11. B. N. Puri, *India in Classical Greek Writings*, p. 136, f. n. 22.
 12. *Ibid.*

Lapis-Lazuli (Sapphire)

“Another Indian stone was exported that is lapis-lazuli, shipped from Barbarium to foreign markets”. It was exported from very early times. Kauṭilya has referred to certain types of sapphire in his specific description of gems.

Agate

“The agate was another precious stone exported from at least sixth century B C. The agate was exported from Barygaza (Broach) to Egypt and Arabia. It also reveals to us that the agate was brought down to Barygaza from Ujjain as well as from Paithan along with the carnelian”.¹

Amethyst

These are purple stone. These are also exported to Rome and Egypt.²

Onyx (Śivadhātu)

There are several varieties of Indian Onyx. “In India this stone has been found in the Deccan traps of the Godāvarī, Kṛishṇā and Bhima rivers near Hyderabad.”³

Corbuncle (Padmarāga sarpamaṇi)

It was also “certainly exported from India to Rome”⁴

Diamond (Vajra)

Kauṭilya has mentioned the varieties of diamond. “The Indian diamond is not found embedded in gold, but in a substance akin to crystal”.⁵

Transparent stones (Āntargataprabhā)

Kauṭilya points the transparent stones as āntargataprabhā. “India also produced the stone called xuthon or xanthon, which states Pliny, was much used by the lower classes in India.” “Ion, another Indian stone of a violet tint, was rarely found with a deep and full colour.”⁶

Coral (Pravāla)

“The coral too must have been exported from India to Rome.”⁷ Kauṭilya has also mentioned two types of coral.⁸

1. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 256.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. B. N. Puri, “*India in Classical Greek Writings*”, p. 130.

6. Saletore, E.I.E.H., p. 260.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

8. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 77.

Pearls (maṇi)

“Probably the most important export from India in early times were the pearls”.¹ There are evidences of export of pearls from India “especially first to Greece, then to Rome and also to other countries”.² Pearls were very popular in India and Kautilya has mentioned several varieties of pearl strings.³

Glass (kācha)

Kautilya has referred the setting of glass beads in gold. Glass was also produced in India and exported to other countries.⁴

Gold

“Herodotus has observed specifically that gold was found in India in immense quantity, either mines or washed down by rivers or stolen from the ants.”⁵ Kautilya has mentioned several varieties of gold. Gold was exported from Opphire.⁶

Silver (rajata)

In India silver and silver mines was present from very early times. “Ctesias (415-397 B. C.) observed how there was much silver in India and its silver mines were not much deeper than those in Bactria”.⁷

Copper (tāmra).

“In 100 A. D. the copper was exported from India”. “Copper was shipped from Barygaza”.⁸

Ivory

There are “two main regions from where ivory was exported to the outside world-markets—one was Punt the southern end of the Red sea and the other, India”.⁹ The Indian ivory was exported to Assyria and Rome.¹⁰

Imports

Topaz (Pitamaṇih)—

“There were two kinds of topaz stone, the yellow and genuine topaz stones and both were imported into India.”¹¹ “From the Ommanitic and Parsidae regi-

1. Saletore, E.I.E.H., p. 261.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
3. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 76.
4. Saletore, E.I.E.H., p. 265.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

ons came the topaz stones to the ports of Barbaricum on the Indus, and to Barygaza (Broach) in northern India and the southern ports like Bacare, Nelcynda, Tyndis and Muziris, in first century.”¹ The topaz and emerald both were imported to India from Ethiopia. “But whether it was imported from that period, which is not improbable, we can not state definitely for lack of evidences. But its import at least is certain though in the first century”.²

Emerald (Garutmat)

Mc. Crindle states that “emerald were found in the mines of upper Egypt and were no doubt shipped from Adule for the Indian market by the Ethiopian traders who brought them from the Blemmyes. If they were taken to Barygaza they could be transported thence by a much frequented trade-route to Ujjain, thence to Kabul and thence over the Hindu-Kush to the region of Oxus.”³

Pearls (Mauktikam)

While it is well known that pearls of good quality were found in India. But “pearls were also imported into this country at least from 400 B.C. if not earlier”.⁴ Kauṭilya was fully aware of the nature and the sources of obtaining pearls. “That pearls must have been imported even in Kauṭilya’s time can be seen from his reference to the countries from where such pearls were procured.”⁵ From their statement, we may be fairly sure that “at least, from Persia and from Ceylon pearls must have been imported for purposes of sale in India.”⁶

Tortoise shell

“Another imported article was the tortoise-shell. Kauṭilya does not specifically refer to the tortoise shell but he mentions the conch-shell (sankha) along with pearls diamonds and precious stones.”⁷ From various places the tortoise shell was imported into India.⁸

Coral (Pravālakam)

Kauṭilya has mentioned two types of corals ālakandaka and vaivernika. “The commentator has explained that the Ālakandaka was obtained at the mouth of the river Barbara and the vaivernika procured in the Vaiverna ocean near the island of Yavanas. If an Alakandaka was the island in the Indus where the Bactrian King Milind (Menander) was born and Vaivarnika, the portion of the ocean

1. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 163.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

near about that island, then it would appear as if corals were actually not imported from any region really outside India.”¹

Gold and Silver

There is no clear evidence about the imports of gold and silver. Kauṭilya refers to some regions where, according to him gold seems to have been available. But it is not possible to identify these places i.e., Jambu, Śatakumbha, Hāṭaka, Veṇu, Śrīṅgasukta. It is not clear that these places were in the limit of India or the outside of India.

Decorative pattern used in Ornament

The designs for the decoration of ornaments was generally chosen from the flowers, plant, animals, in fact all those things which seem lovely. Some decorative patterns used for ornaments are given below :

- (i) Floral designs including lotus flower and other flowers consisting generally four, six, eight petals.
- (ii) Leaf like pattern.
- (iii) Human and animal motifs viz. crocodile, fish, and human figures.
- (iv) Some sacred symbols like wheel, triangle headed, honey suckle, triratna pipal leaf, battle axe, goad, trīśīla, śrīvatsa etc.

Beads used as ornament

A very considerable number of beads made of gems viz. agate, omethyst, carnelian, quartz, onyx, chalcedony, etc. have been found during archaeological excavation from various sites of this periods e.g. Ujjain, Vaiśālī, Sravastī, Kauśāmbī, Chandraketugarh, Tāmluka, Baliragagarh, Pāṭaliputra, Champā, Ahichchhatra, Taxila and Ghuram (Panjaba) etc. Taxila, Ujjaini, Kauśāmbi, Vaiśālī, Ahichchhatra, Pāṭaliputra and Broach (Guzrat) were the centres of flourishing bead industry. Besides the precious stones, the beads were also made of ivory, shell, glass, metal and even ordinary clay. The beads of various shapes have come in light viz. globular, elongated, barrel-shaped, triangular, cylindrical, discoidals etc. as may be observed in the necklace and girdles of the sculptures, figurines and early painting of Ajantā.

Various types of pearls string (Yashṭi)

Kauṭilya has mentioned various types of pearl yashṭi which are worn as head string, bracelets, necklaces, girdles and anklets.²

1. Saletore, E. I. E. H., p. 173.

2. R. Shamastry, K. A., pp. 76-77,

A. According to the size of pearls

- (i) Śīrshaka—“A necklace of pearls, uniform in size, with one bigger in the centre”.
- (ii) Upaśīrshaka—A necklace of pearls of uniform size with “five bigger pearls of equal size in centre”.
- (iii) Prakāṇḍaka—“A necklace of pearls of gradually decreasing size, with one bigger in the centre”.
- (iv) Avaghāṭaka—“A necklace of pearls, all of which are of uniform size”.
- (v) Taralapratibandha—“A necklace of pearls, with one brilliant in the centre”.

B. According to the number of pearls strings¹

- (i) Indrachchandra—The Yasṭi of “one thousand and eight strings of pearls”.
- (ii) Guchcha—a Yasṭi of “thirty two strings”.
- (iii) Nakshatramālā—A Yasṭi of “twenty seven strings”.
- (iv) Ardha-guchchha—A Yasṭi of “twenty four strings”.
- (v) Māṇavaka—A Yasṭi of “twenty strings”.
- (vi) Ardhamāṇavaka—A Yasṭi of ten strings.

The above yashtis of śīrshaka, upaśīrshaka and other pattern is termed by the same name with the respective name i.e. the twenty strings of śīrshaka pattern is known as guchchaśīrshaka. When all the strings in a Yashti consist sirshaka pattern is called ‘suddhahāra’. The hara consisting of gem in centre, becomes their respective māṇavakas.

C. Phalaka hāra

The hara which consists slab like gems in the centre is called phalaka hāra e.g. which consist three slab like gems is known ‘trīphalaka’ and which consist five slab like gems is known ‘pañch-phalaka’.

- D. (i) Ekāvalī—A string of pure pearls.
- (ii) Yasṭi—A string of the pearls with a gem in the centre.
- (iii) Ratnāvalī—A pearl string variegated with gold globules.
- (iv) Apavartaka—A string made of pearls alternate with gold globules.
- (v) Sopānaka—Strings of pearls with a gold wire between two strings.
- (vi) Maṇisopānaka—The same with a gem in the centre.

Various kinds of ornaments²

In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the ornaments are identified in four categories : āvedhya, bandhaniya, prakshepya and āropaka. The ornament which hangs from the

1. . Cf. Amarakosa, 2.6.104, 105.

2. Nāṭyashāstra, 21.12.14 : Ramji Upadhaya, *Prāchīn Bhārata Ki Sānskritik Bhūmikā*, p. 828.

part of the body and does not touch the other part of body, generally hangs from the cloven of any part e.g. Kuṇḍala. The ornament that tie in a part of the body is known as 'bandhaniya' e.g. torque, aṅgada etc. 'Prakshepya' is that which moves in walking 'Āropya' is that which hangs in any part e.g. hāra, vaikekshyaka etc.

There are several varieties of ornaments for different parts of the body.

Head and Forehead Ornament

In the Rāmāyaṇa 'Kirīṭa' is mentioned as head ornament worn by the kings. Patañjali has also mentioned 'kirīṭa'.¹ Bhāsa has referred many times the word, 'mukuṭa'.² This is an elaborate head ornament. The ornament around the hair knot is known as 'chūḍāmaṇi'.³ A crest like ornament inset with jewels is known as 'chūḍamaṇi'.⁴ When it consists of ruby gems, it is termed 'aruṇa' Chūḍāmaṇi.⁵ 'Keśantarekhā' is the ornament worn around the forehead.⁶ 'Śikhaṇḍabharana' is also a crest ornament inset with jewels and emeralds worn in 'śikhaṇḍa'.⁷

'Chaṭulātilaka'⁸ or 'lalāṭika'⁹ is the forehead ornament. It may be fixed with sandal paste or suspended by a golden chain centrally near the simanta of the parting of the hair. When it hangs from the simanta, it is termed as 'simant-achumbi-chaṭulātilaka'.¹⁰ The forehead gems are worn by the females only. 'Bālapāśya' is a fillet around the forehead or worn in the 'veṇī'.

Ear Ornament

The most common name for ear ornament is 'kuṇḍala'. Pāṇini has mentioned the term 'karṇikā' for ear ornament, from karṇa, an 'ear'. Mr̥ishta Kuṇḍala is a plain variety, highly polished and shining.¹¹ Karṇa-veshṭana mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa is the kuṇḍala which intertwines the ear-lobe.¹² Prākāra-vapra kundala is also a 'karṇa-veshṭana' type Kuṇḍala. It consists of a square piece of gold with a full blown lotus carved on it, the stalk of which is twice curled over the ear lobe and then hang

1. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 3.2.; Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 204.
2. Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Bhāsa Nāṭakam Chakram*, pt. I. Dutavakyam, p. 45, Urubhangam, p. 21.
3. Rāmāyaṇa V. 54.31.; S. N. Vyas, *India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*, p. 216.
4. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 63.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Sivaramamurti, *Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 62.
9. *Ibid.*; *Ashtādhyāyī*, IV, 3.65. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 132.
10. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 29.
11. Sivaramamurti, *Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 59.
12. Ramayana, V. 15.42.

freely.¹ 'Karnaveshtna' type kundala does not occur in later period. Svadamshtra also is an ear ornament shaped like a flower or a dog's teeth.² Patra-kundala is the ivory leaf or gold leaf worn in the cloven ear lobe described in the literature as danta-kundala and kanakakundala.³ Its Tamil name is Olai.⁴ 'Dehri' is a circular plate fixed outside to the lobe.⁵ When it is decorated like the flower, it is known as karnaphula. 'Tataṅka chakra' is also circular ear kundala. Jhumaka is an ear ornament dangling from the ear lobe. The best example of this is revealed in Bharhut sculpture.⁶ In Buddhist literature, 'avatansaka' or 'vaṭansaka', 'avela' or 'achela', 'vallika', 'pamaṅga', etc. words are mentioned.⁷ Probably 'vaṭansaka' or 'avatansaka' is the ear ornament. 'Avela' or 'achela' is Karnika. 'Vallika' is the ear ornament with pearl pendants. The meaning of 'pamaṅga' is not clear but probably it is an ear ornament.⁸ The Kundala studded with jewels and pearls is known as ratnakundala and manikundala. 'Svastika' mentioned by Patañjali, is also an ear ornament of 'svastika' design.⁹

Neck Ornament

Neck ornaments are worn by men and women both. Pāṇini has mentioned the word 'graiveyaka'¹⁰ as a neck ornament. In the Buddhist literature a word 'kayura' is used for the torque.¹¹ Kauṭilya has mentioned many types of necklaces. Generally, two types of neck ornaments were worn. First, the short necklace worn around the neck, known as kanṭhā-bhūshā or simply kanṭhī and kanṭhā. This is also known as hansuli. Second, the long necklaces which hang on the chest and beautify it. There are many terms for the long necklaces i.e., 'lambanam', 'lalāntika', dalliers, mohan-mālā, 'mahāhāra', etc.¹² Ekāvali is one stringed mala of pearls. According to the number of strings in it, a hara is known as trilarī, pañchalarī, etc.¹³ When the hāra consists of slab like gem, it is termed as a phalaka-

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1. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 96.
 2. S. N. Vyas, *India in the Age of Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 216.
 3. Sivaramamurti, *Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 60.
 4. Gopinath Rao, E. H. I., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 25.
 5. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 35.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, fig. 10.
 7. N. P. Joshi, "Vinay-Piṭaka Ke Ādhara para Bhāratīya Bhautika Jivana Ki Jhalaka", J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, p. 253.
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. Agnihotri, P. K. B., p. 204.
 10. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV, 2.96.
 11. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya Pitaka Ke Ādhara para Bhāratīya Bhautika Jivana ki Jhalaka", J. U. P. H. S., Vol. XXIV-XXV, p. 253.
 12. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 36.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

hara.¹ The neck-ornament 'nishka'² mentioned in *Rāmāyaṇa* worn by Sītā, is composed of gold coins.

'Chhannavīra' appears to be a "flat ornament, a kind of jewelled disc, meant to be tied on the makūṭa or hung round the neck by a string so as to tie over the chest".³ Pramod Chandra has interpreted it as "an ornament consisting of two strands which cross on the torso and pass one over each shoulder".⁴

Hand Ornament

Hand-ornaments are worn by men and women both. In Buddhist literature 'Ovahika' and 'hatthābharāṇa' are referred for the hand ornament.⁵ The ornament worn in upper part of body is called as armlet and that worn in the fore arm is called bracelet and wristlet. 'Aṅgada' is a broad armlet of various designs while the 'ananta' is a armlet of spiral shaped. The bracelet, that is thin and circular is known as bangle and heavy ring is known as 'kaḍā' or kangan. 'Ratnavalaya'⁶ is the ornament studded with jewels and kanakadorā is the golden string twisted in a elegant rope. In Tamila, it is known as 'golusu'.⁷ For finger rings, 'aṅgulīya' and 'muddika' are used.⁸ Pāṇini has also referred 'aṅgulīya' for finger rings.⁹

Waist Ornament

The most remarkable of all the ornaments of ancient India are the elaborate girdles or zones which are worn by the women only. There were no females without mekhalā. The men used an embroidered belt or sash. 'Kaṭisuttaka' mentioned in Buddhist literature, is used for waist string.¹⁰ There are many terms for this e.g. 'mekhalā', 'raśanā', 'kāñchi', 'saptakī', 'śārasanā', 'sakkarī', 'kakshā', 'kaṭisūtra', 'katikra', etc.¹¹ 'Raśanā' is a tinkling girdle, while 'śārasanā'

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1. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 77.
 2. Ramayan, VI. 5.25.
 3. Gopinath Rao, E. H. I., pt. I, Vol. I, p. 31.
 4. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., p. 176.
 5. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya-Piṭaka Ke Ādhara para Bhāratīya Bhautika Jivana Kī Jhalaka", J. U. P. H. S., Vols. XXIV-XXV, p. 253.
 6. Rāmāyaṇa V. 15.42.
 7. Sivaramamurti, *Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 59.
 8. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya-Piṭaka Ke Ādhara para Bhāratīya Bhautika Jivana Kī Jhalaka", J. U. P. H. S., Vols. XXIX-XXV, p. 253.
 9. *Asaṭādhyāyī*, IV. 3.62; V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 132.
 10. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya-Piṭaka Ke Ādhara para Bhāratīya Bhautika Jivana Kī Jhalaka", J. U. P. H. S., Vols. XXIX-XXV, p. 253.
 11. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 37.

is the girdle of 25 strings according to Wilson.¹ Sroṇi-sūtra and Kaṭisūtra are the waist belt. When studded with jewels, they are known as 'maṇi-mekhalā'. 'Kāñchī' is the girdle of gold and silver beads worn by richer classes.² 'Saptakī' is a girdle of seven strings.

Leg Ornament

Anklet is the general name of leg ornament. The plain circular rings are called 'Sānkala' or 'Kaḍā'. The anklet with tiny bells is known as mañjirā or nupūra.³ The anklets were worn by females only.

Excellent qualities of Ornament

The ornament of "even colour, symmetrical, with beads not sticking to each other, firm, well-burnished, not soaked (for a false glitter), divided (into suitable parts), pleasant to wear, not gaudy, full of lustre, with charming shape, even, and pleasing to the mind and eye, are the qualities of good ornament."⁴

Garland

Garland (mala of flower) is also used as an ornament. During modern times the females use the ornament of garland on various occasions. The brides are adorned with the garlands. In ancient period also the garland was a main item of adornment. In the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, there are many references of garlands of different varieties.⁵ N. P. Joshi has interpreted them as follows :—

"Ekato vantaka is the mala of flowers keeping the stalks of all flowers on one side. 'Ubhatovantaka' is a mala of flowers, keeping the stalks of the flowers on both sides. Manjarika is not identified. Probably, this is a mālā of mañjarī. According to Oldenberg, the shape of this should be like a bhujaband. Vidhūtika is a mala like wing. According to Sāmantapāsādika, this is a mala of Sindhuvāra or Sindhuka flowers made with the help of salākā. 'Vaṭansaka' is the mala like kalangi. 'Āvela' is the mala used for the ear. 'Urachchhada' is the mālā which adorn the chest portion."

Pāṇini has referred that he who adorned his person with garland, was called malabhari and mālābhāriṇi.⁶ Patañjali has formed a sutra 'utapala-mālā bhāriṇi'

1. Cunningham Bharhut, p. 37.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

3. Rāmāyana, V. 15.46.; Sivaramamurti, *Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 63.

4. Kangle, K. A., Pt. II, p. 133.

5. N. P. Joshi, "Vinaya-Pitaka Ke Ādhāra para Bhāratīya Bhautika Jivan ki Jhalaka". J.U.P.H.S., Vol. XXIV-XXV, p. 253.

6. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI. 3.65; V. Ś. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 133.

i e. “the girl adorned with lotus garland”.¹ Pāṇini says that during the student period, the use of flower garland was forbidden, when they completed the study, they adorned themselves, known as sragvi.²

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1. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 1.72; I. 1.87, *Ashṭādhyāyi*, VI. 3.65, V. S. Agrawala, I K. P., p. 133.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, I. K. P., p. 133,

CHAPTER VIII

Various Types of Male and Female Ornaments

Mauryan Period

Very few specimens of the Mauryan period have come to light and those which have been ascribed to this period are represented wearing necklaces, earrings, bangles, mekhalā and anklets, which may show the continuation of the old tradition.

Head Ornaments

(1) The Sarnath male head¹ is represented wearing a flower wreath around the head (muṇḍamālā). S. P. Gupta has interpreted it as laurel wreath.² It was worn near the lower edge of head-dress.

(2) Many terracotta figurines excavated at Patna reveal peculiar type of head ornament. They wear a decorated casket like head ornament.³

(3) A dancing girl from Patna has a “number of metallic discs-some round, some elliptical. Then there is a fillet which binds the hair.”⁴

(4) A Didarganj Yakshi⁵ (Ill. III) has worn a beautiful ornament on the head. Spooner has described the head ornament of this Yakshi as “The head of Didarganj Yakshini statue is wreathed with ropes of beads or pearls caught upto a point in front, above a large and prominent oval disc of some kind placed centrally over the forehead; they are thence led backwards in a double line along the parting to find fastening beneath the luxuriant trasses of the coiffure behind”⁶ (fig. 186).

Lalāṭīkā—It is very common ornament used on the forehead. The nude female figure on the gold leaf from the burial mound of Lauriya Nandangarh has

1. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 40, b, 41, b.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81

3. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek of Jewellery*, pl. V.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 19, pl. IV.

5. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 9.

6. Spooner, “The Didarganj Image now in Patna Museum”, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V. part I. p. 110.

also a sort of a round drop on her forehead¹ (fig. 129). The figurine on a gold leaf from Piprahwa is seen wearing a *lalāṭikā*, a drop on the forehead.²

Hair Pins—From Bhir Mound, Taxila, copper hair pin is excavated. It has trident head, the prongs of which terminate in nandipada, vajra and axe (?). Length is 4 inch.³ A bone hair pin is also found from Sravasti.⁴

Ear Ornament

The common name for ear ornament is *kuṇḍala*. It is worn by male and female both. Various types of ear ornaments are represented in stone sculpture and terracottas.

(1) *Ear-rings*—Rounded ear rings were very common. It was worn in cloven ear lobe. Patna⁵ and Bombay⁶ Yakshas show this feature.

(2) *Discoidal Ear tops*—The Sarnath⁷ male heads are represented wearing discoidal *kuṇḍalas* with concentric circle in the cloven ear lobe (fig. 203). Palwala Yaksha also has worn this type of ear ornament.⁸

The dancing figure of Bulandibaga⁹ is represented wearing two types of ornaments in ears. She has worn elongated cup shaped in right ear and rounded ear ornament in the left (fig. 187).

(3) *Ear pendant*—The ear pendant of Lauriya-Nandangarh¹⁰ mother goddess is discoidal and simple while the circular ear ornament of Buxer terracotta¹¹ looks like 'Chakra' (fig. 204). S. P. Gupta has interpreted as 'cup shaped ear tops with floral pattern.'¹²

The Didarganj Yakshini¹³ is represented wearing coiled ear pendant (fig 186). Spooner has interpreted her ear ornaments as "which are shaped something like an

1. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p 18; P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 70.
2. *Ibid.*, pl. I; S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 35, a.
3. Marshall, Taxila, Vol. II, p. 586, pls. 173, 0.
4. K. K. Sinha, *Excavation at Sravasti*, p. 70.
5. Bachhofer, E.I.S., pl. 11.
6. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 133.
7. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pls. 37, a, b., 40, a.
8. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 134.
9. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 81, b.; P. L. Gupta, P. M. C. A., pl. XLI.
10. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 70.
11. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 77, b.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
13. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 9.

hourglass or double drum, with the lower member ending in an 'inverted cone, are extraordinarily massive and distend the lobe enormously, though not perhaps to quite Peruvian dimensions".¹ It is peculiar type of ear ornament. "A similar ornament made of copper, probably belonging to Mauryan Period was discovered at Patna. The ornament has close resemblance to the bud of plantain blossom."² According to Gangoli, it is 'mochaka' ear ornament described in Bharata's *Natya-sastra*.³

Amphora type—From Taxila, various types of ear ornaments are excavated but only one gold ear pendant is of this period. Marshall describes it and names it as 'amphora type' ear pendant. "Height 1.7 inch. It consists of two separate pieces, the upper one attached to the lower by means of a hook which passes through a hole in the latter. The upper piece takes the form of a full blown-flower, of which the six outer petals are granulated, the inner ones are plain. At the centre of the corona was a gem (now missing) enclosed in a beaded circlet. Between the outer leaves are four clusters of granules set on wire tendrils. The lower piece consists of an amphora with dolphin handles from the tails of which depends four chains ending in pearl drops. The body of the amphora is of turquoise adorned with granulated triangles of gold and with a cluster of gold globules beneath its base."⁴ Rai Govind Chandra says that "it looks more like human figure than an amphora with the head represented by the round piece at the top, the two hands by the two side projections and the body by the central piece. As it is the piece composed of two parts-the head and the body which are attached to one another by a hook passing through a hole in the lower portion, very much like the human body."⁵

Prākāra-vapra kuṇḍāla—It is most characteristic feature of Śunga period, but it is also seen earlier. The ear ornament of Parkham Yaksha is "prākāravapra kuṇḍala"⁶ (fig. 206).

Neck Ornament

Two types of neck ornaments are mentioned in the Mauryan Period, one is short necklace and other long necklace. Some of the figures show the representation

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1. D. B. Spooner, "The Didarganj Image now in Patna Museum", J. B. O. R. S., vol. V, p. 110.
 2. K. K. Gangoli, "Jewellery in Ancient India", J. I. S. O. A., Vol. X, p. 146.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
 4. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 433.
 5. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 44.
 6. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 96.

of both these types. The Mathura terracotta is represented wearing only one single collar and no long necklace.¹ The Patna yaksha² also has worn only one flat torque close to the neck (III.IV). While the Parkham Yaksha has two necklaces, one close to neck and other phalaka hara of triangular shape.

Some varieties of necklaces which were popular in this period are given below.

1. *Flat torque*—It is worn mostly along with long hara. The neck ornament of new Mathura Yaksha (fig. 210) discovered by Prof. V. S. Agrawala is interpreted as “The flat torque (graiveyaka) is tied at the back of the neck by a band having an inter woven knot and terminating in two very beautiful tassels which most artistically dangle below on the back and whose thick flowery terminals are shown as if attached to the loop and the allied lotus-shaped medallion fastened within it, this latter device being intended to keep in position the conspicuous flat triangular necklace of the chest in front”.³ The Palwal Yaksha also is represented wearing two necklaces, “a double flat crescent-shaped torque, a flat triangular necklace. On the back are shown pendant tassels of the necklace”.⁴

2. *Phalaka hara*—It is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. It is made of more than one strings studded with slab like square plaque on both sides. The Parkham Yaksha shows this feature. It is most favoured in Śuṅga sculpture.

3. *Triratna tarque*—On a male figure of terracotta from Patna a torque with ‘tri-ratna symbol’⁵ is revealed. Triratna necklace is seen in the Śuṅga period also.

4. *Rosette necklace*—(the necklace consisting a rosette). A Patna female terracotta figurine wears the necklace with a central piece bearing the design of rosette.⁶

Pearl necklace—The Didarganj Yakshini has a very beautiful example of pearl necklace (fig. 220). She shows the necklace of three strands of pearls, two lari of which are of substantial length and fall between both the breasts, while the third one is close to the neck. A long pearl necklace is shown with three oval pendants.⁷ From Ahichchhatra, the figure of mother goddess is wearing an applied

1. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 4.

2. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 10.

3. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 61 & 63, p. 115.

4. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 61 & 63, p. 134.

5. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 19, pl. II; Patna Museum Arch, no. 8628.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. V; Patna Museum Arch. no. 6518.

7. P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 11.

collar of two rows and one line of pin head marks. probably for the pearls passed round the breast with a vertical string between them¹ (fig. 215).

Waist Ornament

Girdles were used in India from the early Period. It is main ornament of females. It is very useful for women in two ways first for beauty and second to keep the lower garment in proper position. We have noticed several types of mekhalā, made of one, two, three or many strings of different kinds of beads and pearls. The beautiful girdle of the Didarganj Yakshi is of five strands. Spooner has described the girdle of this Yakshi. ‘‘Didarganj Yakshini figure wears an elaborate and highly decorative girdle of five strands, opening naturally and gracefully over the hips, but gathered to a single rope in front, which passes through two opposed and flaring bellshaped fasteners disposed at either side of the central pendant folds described above. These fasteners we may presume were made of gold but the several strands of the girdle are composed of flat lozenges, doubtless of semiprecious stones, like agate or carnelian separated from each other by two round beads’’. The girdle of the Besnagar Yakshi² is also very elaborate. She has also worn five stranded girdle, four strands composed of egg shaped ribbed beads and one strands of circular plaque with floral pattern (fig. 287).

The figure of mother goddess of Lauriya Nandangarh³ is represented naked but shows the use of girdle of one string composed of triangular beads. In terracottas, the girdles are represented simple and impressed with circlets. A female dancer from Pāṭaliputra has worn one lari mekhala having bell pendant in front. Prof. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted it as a ‘santānaka’ mekhala.⁴ A male terracotta from Patna has worn two stringed girdle of barrel shaped beads.⁵ The girdle of another male terracotta is flat with decorated metal strip.⁶ In later period the ornamental girdle of male is replaced by a waist belt of cloth. The figure of mother goddess on a gold plaque from Piprahwa⁷ has been shown wearing an elaborate girdle of three strings of beads with a central square clasp.

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1. Spooner, ‘‘The Didarganj Image now in Patna Museum’’, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 110.
 2. Bachhofer, E. I. S., p. 63.
 3. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 70.
 4. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 323.
 5. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, pl. II; Patna Museum Arch. no. 8628.
 6. Ibid., pl. III.; Cf. Ahichchhatra Terracotta, *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXI, fig. 4.
 7. *Ibid.*, pl. I.

Arm Ornament

Arm Ornament was also in vogue. The ornament worn in the upper arm was known as 'armlet' and the ornament worn in the fore arm was a bracelet or bangle.

Armlet

(1) The Patna Yaksha¹ (Ill.IV) revealed wearing the twisted coiled 'valaya' round the mid portion of upper arm (fig. 260). "Shaped like a rope, the spiral has both its ends treated in the form of lion heads".² Spirals made of solid rods are still worn as armlets in various parts of northern India and are known as 'adaipechi'.³ Prof. V. S. Agrawala interprets the armlet of Patna Yaksha as 'lapetuan aṅgada'.⁴

(2) The Palwala Yaksha⁵ has worn "the armlet with triple vertical projections". This type of armlet is seen many times in the Bharhut sculpture.

(3) Sometimes, the projections are replaced by the feathers. The armlet of Mathura Yaksha is decorated with "an out stretched plumage of three feathers",⁶ (fig. 259).

Bangle and Kaṭaka

During this period the bangles are very common. The Didarganj Yakshini⁷ has worn 14-15 bangles. A female torso from Sarnath has worn only five bangles of cylindrical beads.⁸ The mother goddess of Lauriya Nandangarh also have five or six bangles in each hand.⁹ The dancing girl¹⁰ from Bulandibag is represented wearing one heavy bangle (Kaṭaka). The Bombay Yaksha has worn only on wristlet. The bracelet of¹¹ the Mathura Yaksha has very elaborate four rings of finest workmanship and studded with jewels of various shapes and sizes.¹² From Bhirmound, the Bangles of glass,¹³ copper,¹⁴ shell,¹⁵ bone,¹⁶ etc. are excavated.

1. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 185.
2. K. K. Gangoli, "Jewellery in Ancient India", J. I. S. O. A., Vol. X, p. 153.
3. *Ibid.*
4. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhārtiya Kalā*, p. 125.
5. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., p. 134.
6. *Ibid.*, fig. 61 & 63, p. 115.
7. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 187.
8. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., fig. 39, a.
9. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B. pl. 70.
10. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhārtiya Kalā*, fig. 498.
11. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 69, p. 133.
12. *Ibid.*, fig. 61 & 63, p. 115.
13. Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 684-85.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 577-78.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 671-72.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 651-52.

They are of many designs. Some are plain, some decorated with simple designs, some are of twisted wire and some are very heavy. A child bangle of light weight is also found. The diameter of which is 2 inches.¹

Finger rings—Finger rings were also worn in this period although there is no evidence of it in sculptures. But from Bhir Mound some finger rings are excavated which are of 4th to 2nd century B. C. according to Marshall. One of these is of silver, nine are of copper, one of iron, one of the lead and one of shell.² The gold rings are found from Sirkap.³

Foot ornament—Anklets were also worn by women during the period. The actual representation of this ornament can be noticed on the female figure from Didarganj.⁴ She has worn very thick anklets one in each leg (fig. 298). The anklet of this Yakshi is very decorative and studded with pearls. The figure on the gold leaf from Piprahwa has worn the “anklets and rings on her toe.”⁵ The terracotta female figurine, however, does not show the use of this ornament. It may, therefore, be suggested that it was not used by all women, but only such of them wore it who were wealthy.

Sunga Period

Head Ornament

(1) Sometimes, an ornamental fillet is worn around the head with rounded crest in middle. This type of ornament is worn by the male gatekeeper depicted at Sāñchī⁶ (Ill. XXVII). A vyāla rider has also worn this type of ornament (ardh-mukuta).⁷

(2) Sometimes, a broad ornamental fillet is worn around the head. This type of ornament is worn by male⁸ and female⁹ both (Ill. XVII). The forehead band is also worn by a dancing lady depicted at Sāñchī.¹⁰ This is a new ornament which is absent in the earlier period. Dhavalikar is of opinion that the forehead band was of the Greek and Roman origin.¹¹ A terracotta figure of man kidnapping woman, Kauśāmbī,¹² has worn the fore head band of floral design (Ill. XLVI).

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 578.
 2. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 65.
 3. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II. p. 639.
 4. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 9.
 5. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 18, pl. I.
 6. Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. XV, fig. 13.
 7. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 39.
 8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XVII.
 9. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII.
 10. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 4.
 11. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 41.
 12. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 145.

(3) A ornament fillet or pearl string is worn around the top knot of hair.¹

(4) Muṇḍamāla—Sometimes, beaded strings are worn near the lower edge of head dress. It is very popular ornament of female in the Śuṅga period.² It is worn on the forehead near the veil.³ A female figure peeping from a curtain depicted at Bhārhut⁴ is represented wearing a beaded chain of cylindrical and oval beads arranged alternately, near the lower edge of head dress on the fore head (Keśantarekhā)⁵ (III. XVIII). It is also popular terracottas.⁶

(5) Lalāṭīkā—It is very important ornament of females, worn just below the parting of hair on the top of forehead. It is worn with sandal paste or with a beaded chain in śimant. In the painting of cave X at Ajanta, a female has worn 'chaṭulātilaka' with a beaded chain running over the parting of hair (śimanta).⁷ Cunningham has pointed out eight types of lalāṭīkā depicted in Bharhut sculpture⁸ (figs. 177-184). Rai Govind Chandra has described their shapes.⁹ Some are like open lotus flower,¹⁰ some are of the shape of the seed vessel of the lotus,¹¹ some are in the form of a ring with or without bezel tops,¹² some are in the shape of cross with dented rims and others are in the shape of lotus flower with dented edges¹³ and still others are in the shape of a square with concave sides bearing a lotus flower design in the centre".¹⁴ The most common type of lalāṭīkā is star shaped¹⁵ (I lls. XI & XII). "These are generally a thin plates of gold or silver stamped into various patterns."¹⁶ The most common name of it is tika or bindi. The Batanamara

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1. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63. Bhaja; Deshpande, "The Rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15. pl. LX, A.; N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 21.
 2. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta figurines of Ahichchhatra, Distt. Bareilly", *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXII, fig. 12.
 3. Barua, *Buddha-gayā*, fig. 11; Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXIX, fig. 74.
 4. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XI.
 5. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha*, p. 63.
 6. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 76
 7. A. Ghosh, *Ajanta Murals*, pl. I, fig. 1.
 8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, fig. 1-9.
 9. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 19.
 10. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, fig. 1, 4.
 11. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, fig. 3.
 12. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, fig. 5, 2.
 13. *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, fig. 6, 7.
 14. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, fig. 8.
 15. *Ibid.*, pls. XXII, 3, XXIV, 4, XXXII, 6.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Yakshini¹ has worn a very peculiar type of forehead ornament. Her ornament is a 'pearl festoons' (mutta-jāla).² A female terracotta from Chandraketugarh³ is shown wearing the ṭikālī of dish shaped with six beaded tassels hanging from the lower rim of the ṭikālī.

Ear Ornament :

1. Ear rings and Karnaveshtana

- (i) Rounded, thick ear rings close to the ear lobe⁴ (fig. 190), studded with jewels and pearls⁵ (fig. 195).
- (ii) Circular ear rings with pegs.⁶
- (iii) Sometimes round ear ring in the right ear and disc shaped in the left.⁷
- (iv) Sometimes, the ring is composed of several rings.⁸ (fig. 191). In the Pitalkhora cave most of the men are represented wearing 'ringed ear rings'.⁹
- (v) Sometimes, more than one ring is worn in each ear.¹⁰ A Mathura Yaksha discovered by V. S. Agrawala, has worn "three very heavy ear rings suspended in each cloven of ear lobes."¹¹
- (vi) Sometimes the ear lobes are adorned with 'spiral ear rings'.¹²
- (vii) Conical ear rings are also seen¹³ (fig. 192). The ear ring of copper is found from Sravasti excavation.¹⁴

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1. Cunningham, Bharhut, pl. XXI, middle.
 2. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 187.
 3. S. S. Biswas, *Terracotta Art of Bengal*, pl. XXVII.
 4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Bodhagayā, pl. VI.; N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 5.
 5. Pramoda Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XVII, 41, a.
 6. Moti Chandra, "Terracotta in Bhārata Kalā Bhavana", *Chhavi*, fig. 29, p. 9.
 7. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., p. 15, no. 55.
 8. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhavana", *Chhavi*, fig. 31; Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. V; Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63, Bhaja.; N. P. Joshi, *Mathura sculptures*, pl. 6.
 9. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. XLIX, A.
 10. Stella Kramrich, *Indian Sculpture*, pl. I, Bhuvaneshwara.
 11. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 61 & 63.
 12. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LVI, p. 81.
 13. Barua, *Bharhut*, pls. XXXI, XXI.
 14. K. K. Sinha, *Excavation of Sravasti*, p. 67.

2. *Karṇaphūla*

(i) Circular, flat ear tops on both ears¹ (fig. 194).

3. *Ear Pendants*

(i) Another variety of ear ornament is cylindrical, suspended horizontally² (fig. 197). Sometimes, they are composed of several bands³ (fig. 198). The ear ornament of Kosam terracotta is rounded in left ear and barrel shaped in right ear⁴ (figs. 188, 189).

(ii) A female head in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur has worn triangular leaf like pendants with circular ear tops in each cloven ear lobe. The circular ear tops consist seven circlets with one circle in middle⁵ (fig. 202).

(iii) Ear Ornament shaped like conch shell studded with beads⁶ (fig. 185).

(iv) Triangular ear ornament⁷ (fig. 193).

(v) “Peg shaped ear ring”.⁸

4. *Dəhrī*—It is a ear top, fixed outside the ear lobe like a plug. They are of many designs. Sometimes, the wheel like (*chakrākāra*) pattern is seen⁹ (fig. 208). When adorned with floral designs, it is known as *karna-phula*.¹⁰

5. *Jhumakā*—It is in the form of bell with two rows of small bells (*kiṇṇikini*) attached to its rim. All the bells are decorated with circlets enclosed within horizontal compartments.¹¹ This curious form is found hanging from a tree in the representation of the *Kukhuta Jataka*,¹² (fig. 207). “A *vyāla* rider wears an ear ornament consisting of two pearl scrolls probably with drops pendants. This is an altogether new type which becomes common only in the Gupta-Vakataka period.”¹³

6. ‘*Triratna*’ or ‘triple gem’ ear ornament—It is peculiar to Buddhist. “It is symbol of Buddhist Traid, Buddha, Dharmma and Sangha. In the *Bharhut*

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1. Pramoda Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXV. fig. 69, Bhita female.
 2. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. V, Cave IX.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 503.
 5. R. C. Agrawala, “Two unpublished antiquities from Sardar Museum, Jodhpur”, *Lalit Kalā*, Vol. XXVI, no. 2, pl. XVIII, fig. 3.
 6. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 7.
 7. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 4.
 8. S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 19, a.
 9. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, fig. 12, p. 34.
 10. R. C. Agrawala, “unpublished *Bharhut* Relief in Indian Museum, New Delhi” *Lalit Kalā*, No. 14, pl. XX, fig. 11.
 11. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, fig. 10.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 35, f.n. 3.
 13. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 43, fig. 33.

sculpture, it is of very frequent use either as an ear ring or part of a necklace. It is also placed on the soldiers scabbard, and on the top of a standard."¹ (fig. 205). It is found amongst the Buddhist terracottas at Kauśāmbī. In these, it forms the women's ear ring and the central ornament of King's necklace. "These terracottas seem to belong to the period of Indo-Scythian rule in upper India about the beginning of the Christian era".²

7. *Tāṭaṅka Chakra*—It is also a karnaphula type of ear ornament. A hexagonal tāṭanka chakra is excavated from Paunar.³ This type of ornament is also worn in Pitalkhora sculpture.⁴

8. *Prākāravapra kundala*⁵ (fig. 206)—It is most remarkable ear ring. It is worn by the Yaksha, Yakshini, Devatas and the Nāga Rājas as well as by most of the human figures. It consists of three separate pieces joined together. The middle portion was formed of a spiral tube. "The flanged end was always worn outwards and square flowered end inwards touching the cheek. They were no doubt placed in position by pushing outwards the flanged end through the long slit in the lobe of the ear and the two complete turns of spiral would place the ornament with the square end touching the cheeks".⁶ It is most important ear ornament of the Śunga period. It is not seen in the Indian Art after Śunga period. A still older statue of a colossal Yaksha of Parkham also shows this feature.⁷

9 *Squarish ear-pendant*—It is large heavy slab like squarish ear pendant. It is suspended in the ear lobe by a piece of wire attached to it. It is either plain or decorated with rosette pattern⁸ (fig. 196). Sometimes, two such squarish pendants are joined by means of this wire and worn in each ear.

10. *Patra-kunḍala*—It is a simple strip of any material (probably costly material) inserted in the ear lobe⁹ (fig. 201). This type is very common in early period. It appears to have been derived from the primitive habit of adorning the ear with a piece of wood or a tree leaf or a small strip of tinted leaf (tāla-patra)¹⁰ (Ill.X).

1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 34.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

3. S. B. Deo & M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavation*, p. 49.
fig. 25, no. 49.

4. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pp. 83 & 84.

5. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 156.

6. Cunningham, *Barhut*, p. 35.

7. V. S. Agrawala, *S. I. A.*, p. 96.

8. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pls. IX, fig. 1, XI.

9. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 29.

10. N. P. Joshi, *L. A. U.*, p. 190, fig. 599; Pramod Chandra, *S. S. A. M.*, pl. XXIV, fig. 67.

11. *Sarpa-Kuṇḍala*—An atlant depicted at Sāñchī¹ is shown wearing a thick spiral which is possibly a 'mṛinala kuṇḍala'² (fig. 199). Similar type of ear ornament is seen in figure of Yaksha depicted at Pitalkhora,³ which Deshpande interprets as 'sarpa-kuṇḍala'.

Neck Ornament

Neck ornaments are seen of various designs. These are of various lengths of one or more strings, and consist of a series of a plaque, chain clusters of beads, or semiprecious beads of different shapes and designs.

1. *Phalaka hāra*⁴ (necklace studded with medals)—

It is made of more than one string or chain running parallel and consisting of square medal on each side (figs. 240, 241). These are sub-divided into such varieties as the dviphalka,⁵ triphalaka chatusphalaka,⁶ pañchphalaka,⁷ etc i. e. those having either two, three, four, five, strings. Sometimes, it consists of round medal in centre⁸ (fig. 236). At Sāñchī, this necklace is seen further decorated with a ball-like object appearing on the left just below the shoulder⁹ (fig. 238). This ball like object is meant to be inserted in the loop appearing at the other end of the necklace after the ornament being put round the neck. The phalaka hāra is worn by male and female both. Sometimes, it consists of three phalakas, two on each side and one rectangular plaque in the centre¹⁰ (fig. 239). The Phalaka hāra is mentioned also in the Arthaśāstra by Kauṭilya.¹¹ This type of necklace is absent in later period.

2. *Ekāvalī*—

This is a simpler variety of neck ornaments. In the Sāñchī sculpture it is seen many times. The ladies are shown wearing simple, single stringed necklace of rounded beads of equal size¹² (fig. 223). Sometimes, one-stringed necklace is seen

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1. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 57. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 593.
 2. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 190.
 3. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LVII, A., p. 82.
 4. Sivaramamurti, *Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 57.
 5. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 37.
 6. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 3.
 7. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX.
 8. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 37. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 624.
 9. *Ibid.*, *Sāñchī*, pl. 37.
 10. *Ibid.*, *Sāñchī*, pl. 37.
 11. R. Shamasastri, K. A., p. 77.
 12. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, Pls. XXIII, XIV, fig. 4, 7; Cf. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.

with a big pearl in the centre.¹ Kauṭilya mentions this type of necklace as a 'śirshaka'.² Another variety of 'ekāvalī' has a heavy, cylindrical pendant in the centre.³ It is noteworthy that the ekavali is usually seen worn by ladies only.

3. *Mohanamālā*⁴—

It is a long necklace hanging between the breasts. The Mehrauli Yakshi⁵ has worn four neck ornaments (fig. 64). The longest hara (Mohanmālā) consists of one big circular pendant and next consists of rectangular pendant. Sometimes, it consists of two strings. The figure of Lakshmi depicted at Bodhgaya wears lambahara consisting of two strings, composed of beads or some globular objects. The figure of Sri wears the hāra of strings hanging down to the breast region.⁷

It is most favoured necklace of Kushana and Gupta sculptures. It is also described by Kālidās.⁸

4. *Flat torque of Kanṭhā*—

It is a collar like tight ornament usually worn by men and women along with hāra.

- (i) One stringed Kanṭhī with circular pendant in the middle⁹ (fig. 229). The Kanṭhā worn by a dwarf is decorated with fish-scala pattern in low relief and tassels are seen fringing its lower margin.¹⁰
- (ii) A vyāla rider is shown wearing a necklace having a charming pearl tassel.¹¹ "A Yaksha wears a Kanṭhī fringed with large spherical beads with tassels. These are alternated with what looks like clusters of pearl strings".¹²
- (iii) "The Kanṭhī worn by an atlant is most elaborate. It consists of curved piece of gold or plated with gold which is decorated with rosettes and from which are suspended pendant composed of big spherical beads with drop-pendants; these are alternated with what looks like a pearl scrolls with tassels at their lower end".¹³

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1. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. VI, 1.; P. K. Agrawala, *M. R. P.*, pl. I.
 2. R. Shamasastri, *K. A.*, p. 76.
 3. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XXVII, Dhavalikar, *S. C. S.*, p. 43.
 4. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, p. 36.
 5. V. S. Agrawala, *S. I. A.* fig. 60.
 6. Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*, pl. XXXIX, 110; Bachhofer, *E. I. S.*, pl. 39.
 7. *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, 8.
 8. Meghaduta, 1.46; refer Sivaramamurti, *Missers of Indian Culture*, p. 57.
 9. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 281.
 10. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XI.
 11. Dhavalikar, *S. C. S.*, p. 44.
 12. *Ibid.*, fig. 35, p. 44.
 13. *Ibid.*, fig. 36, p. 44.

- (iv) The Kanṭhā of simple two rows of oval beads.¹
- (v) A flat Kanṭhā decorated with a series of latus flowers.² This type of torque is seen many times.
- (vi) A studded torque, which appears to have been made of succession of semi-circular plates over lapping from the centre towards each ends. Both ends are triangular in shape with tassels for fastening at back. The central plate is circular and side plates circular and semi-circular are decorated with floral designs,³ (fig. 230). This type of torque is also seen in the Bodhgaya Sculpture (Ill. XXXVII).
- (vii) The figure of a door keeper at Sāñchī has worn a peculiar type of ornament, a semi circular red round the neck from which hang floral and twig like object as pendants⁴ (fig. 247, Ill. XXVII). Here, it appears that the door keeper was a forest living person (kirata) because the wearing of flower and twig is the custom of kirātas.
- (viii) A flat torque with irregular edges⁵ (fig. 213).
- (ix) Collar like ornament of laurel wreath⁶ (fig. 212).
- (x) A torque made of kapardika (kauḍī)⁷ (fig. 214, Ill. IX).

5. Many stringed short necklace—

The common type seen at Bharhut has cylindrical central bead in each string. The beads of each strings are diminishing in size⁸ (fig. 234). Each string is clasped in one on each side. This type of necklace may be three to seven strings or more (Ill. XII). According to Cunningham the central gem was probably an emerald.⁹ Sometimes, the central gems are shown with several faces instead of being flat.¹⁰ Sometimes no central pearl is seen.¹¹ In some cases many stringed necklaces are seen of equal sized beads.¹²

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1. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, pl. I, Bhuvaneshvar.
 2. N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, pl. 5.
 3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. L., fig. 2.; Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 37.
 4. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XV, fig. 13.
 5. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXIX, fig. 74.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, fig. 41, a.
 7. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXXII, fig. 77, a.
 8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. L, fig. 1.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
 10. *Ibid.*, pl. I, fig. 1.
 11. R. C. Agrawala, "Śuṅga Pillars from Amin, near Kurukshetra", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 14, pl. XVI, fig. 2.
 12. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LIX, D.; V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 281.

- (i) Chain with a single octagonal cylindrical bead in the centre¹ (fig. 235).
- (ii) String with only three beads with central bead bigger in size² (fig. 222).
- (iii) String with cylindrical objects in middle flanked by 'makara' like objects or beads,³ (fig. 242).

6. Necklaces with sacred symbols—

- (i) *Triratna necklace*—These necklaces are seen many times originated from 'Kalpa-vriksha'⁴ (fig. 231), The necklace of Sirima Devata⁵ also is consisting symbols. In the necklace, the symbol is used in pair not alone. 'Triratna' or 'Triple gem' is the symbol of Buddhist triad, Buddha, Dharma and Sangh. Its adoption as an ornament by the Buddhists is therefore, quite analogous with the use of the cross as an ornament by Christians. There are many varieties of these necklaces according to its central object between the symbols.⁶ The central bead may be oval, rectangular, or cylindrical. Triratna symbol is also seen in terracotta figure⁷ (Ill.XLIV).
- (ii) A Yakshini from Bharhut⁸ appears wearing a short and a long necklace. The long necklace has a prominent wheel symbol in the centre (fig. 233). Below the wheel, cylindrical bead appears and below this an egg shaped bead appears flanked by 'tri-ratna' symbols on each side. Small mango shaped beads fill up the two sides of these symbols. Use of such mango shaped pieces of gold is seen at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa also.⁹
- (iii) The Chanda Yakshi¹⁰ has worn the 'Satlari' or 'seven-string' necklace (Ill.XI). The lower three pearl strings consist flat stones or cylindrical beads at various intervals. There are some devices in the upper row consisting of some symbols such as 'pīpala-leaf', 'elephant goad' and 'Śrīvatsa'. Śrīvatsa symbol is in middle and after it elephant goads and pīpalaleafs are present on both sides of 'Śrīvatsa' (fig. 232).
- (iv) The necklace with 'Śrīvatsa' symbol is seen in the neck of Rajghat terracotta.¹¹ Dr. P. K. Agrawala interprets as "The necklet comprises three

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- 1. Barua, *Bharhut*, fig. 24, h; Joshi, L. A. U. fig. 643.
 - 2. *Ibid.*, fig. 80; *Ibid.*, fig. 644.
 - 3. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXV.
 - 4. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIV.
 - 5. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII, 1.
 - 6. *Ibid.*, pl. L, fig. 3-6.
 - 7. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 80.
 - 8. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LII, Joshi, L. A. U., fig., 653.
 - 9. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 203.
 - 10. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. L. 7.
 - 11. P. K. Agrawala, *Śrīvatsa*, pl. 4.

independent plaques woven together. A 'Śrīvatsa' appears on the central plaque and two ornamental wheel designs carved on the side pieces flank it suggestively".¹

- (v) A female figure on a mithuna plaque from Ahichchhatra wears the necklace with some symbols (fig 225). Prof. V. S. Agrawala has interpreted, "There are three additional symbols woven in her long necklace, namely a dagger on the left, a puppet (Śrīvatsa) in the centre and on the right, a vajra with a pointed angle prongs."² These symbols also occur on the archaic terracottas of the modelled-cum-moulded variety from Mathura.³

7. *Ashṭamaṅgalaka hāra*—(figs. 217, 218)

Another type of hara consists of a number of pendants of different shapes.⁴ Two such haras have eleven and thirteen pendants,⁵ respectively. According to Prof. V. S. Agrawala, these pendants in one hara are sun, sukra, padmasara, aṅkusa, vaijanti, pankaja, mina-mithuna, Śrīvatsa, parasu, darpana and kamala. The other hara has kamala, aṅkusa, kalpavriksha, darpana, śrīvatsa, vaijanti, pankaja, minayugula, parasu, puspadama, chhatra and two other pendants which can not be identified. Dhavalikar thinks that these amulets were worn with some definite purpose. These pendants have been found actually at ancient sites. The axe (parasu) and ankusa pendants are common at sites of north India and some of their finest specimens from Kausambi are in the collection of Dr M. C. Dikshit of Nagpur.⁶

8. *Hāra consisting human faced plaque with nandipāda symbol*—

The hara of Pitalkhora Yaksha has a graiveyaka round the neck with the most interesting feature. It is a string of gadrooned and collared beads (maṇi-māla) with a large gadrooned central bead flanked by a 'nandipāda' like object.⁷ The gadrooned beads are yielded from Bhir Mound of Taxila.⁸ The Mehrauli Yakshi has also worn the necklace "consisting of cylindrical beads separating two round human faced plaque with nandipāda symbol pendants from each."⁹

1. P. K. Agrawala, *Śrīvatsa*, p. 13.
2. V. S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, District Bareilly, U. P." *Ancient India*, No. 4. P. 110, pl. XXXII, 12.
3. V. S. Agrawala, "Mathura Terracottas", J. U. P. H. S., Vol. IX, fig. 6, 10, 12, 13.
4. Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. 27.
5. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, p. 169.
6. Dhavalikar, S. C. S., p. 44.
7. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LVI, p. 81.
8. Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 654, no. 8-11,
9. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60, p. 110.

9. *Vaikekshyaka hāra*—

It is modified form of 'upavita'.

(i) The vaikekshyaka hāra of Batanamara yakshini is a string consisting of the ankuśa alternating with kshurapra¹ (fig. 219). Yakshi depicted at Bharhut (I11. XI) is wearing the 'upavita' like ornament with ball pendant on the right side near the hip² (fig. 226). Sometimes, two strings are worn consisting of cylindrical beads alternate with rounded beads with a plaque near the left breast³ (fig. 221). The figure of man in mithuna, depicted at Pitalkhora has worn three stringed vaikekshyaka.⁴

10. *Chhannavira*—

Some men and women are revealed wearing an ornament composed of two bands crossing each other on the chest. These bands consist a plaque at the crossing serving as a spacer. The Chulakoka Devata has worn the 'chhannvira' with a plaque decorated with lotus flower⁵ (fig. 244). The apsaras depicted at Bharhut, also have worn the ornament with circular plaque at crossing⁶ (fig. 245). Sometimes, it consists of five circular plaques (I11s. XII, XIV), two below the ear ring, one on the crossing and two at sides⁷ (fig. 246). The female depicted at Pitalkhora has worn also 'chhannavira' with a rounded plaque at crossing⁸.

The dvarapala depicted at Pitalakhora cave has worn the cross belt without any plaque at crossing⁹ (fig. 227). The Kharmukha Yaksha of Pauni is revealed wearing the cross belt, Both belts appear like a twisted cord¹⁰ (fig. 243).

Arm Ornament

Ornaments on the arms and the wrists were worn in India from the days of Indus valley as is evident from the bronze figurine found at Mohenjodara.¹¹ In

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1. Zimmer, A. I. S., pl. 33; Cunningham, *Bharhut*, XXI, b.
 2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII 3; Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. VII, fig. 18.
 3. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, fig. 499.
 4. Moti Chandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 8.
 5. Barua, *Barhut* pl. 75; Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIII.
 6. *Ibid.*, pl. 34.; Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XV.
 7. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 29, Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 37, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIII.
 8. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pls. LVII, B., LX, A & B.
 9. *Ibid.*, pl. LI, A.
 10. S, B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXX, no. 1, p. 47.
 11. Marshall, *Mohenjodara and Indus Valley Civilization*, pl. XCIV, 7; P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. I.

the Śunga period, they are very popular and seen in many varieties worn by male and female both.

Armlets

1. Sapatra Keyura (Ills. XV, XLIV). It is most common type of armlet. The armlet has three petals, one straight and those at sides are curved with a strip of metal bearing one line of circlets¹ (fig. 255). Sometimes, three petals are seen straight with triangular end² (figs. 263, 264). Rai Govind Chandra has said that plume motifs might have come to India with the Greeks.³

(2) The armlet having round pieces bearing lotus design enclosed within a circle and the sides decorated with circlets⁴ (fig. 254).

(3) The ornament⁵ consisting of central rectangular pieces of metal decorated with two lines of circlets (fig. 256) or with four petalled flowers alternating with circlets in vertical compartments (fig. 257) which used to be bound on the arm with strings.

(4) Armlet with beaded chain—A female figure depicted at Ajanta, Cave No. IX has worn an armlet consisting of one row of rounded plaques from each plaque, a chain of beads or pearls hangs down-wards.⁶ (fig. 261).

(5) The armlet consisting of two rectangular plaques studded with jewels⁷ (fig. 262).

(6) Valaya of flat broad band decorated and studded with the jewels.⁸ Sometimes, the 'valaya' is seen of three bands.⁹ In some cases, the band has projections in the shape of round edges or of irregular edges¹⁰ (figs. 265, 266, 267).

(7) The 'spiral valaya' with the head of a crocodile at the end¹¹ (fig. 258).

(8) A feathery 'ananta' coiled once in the arm with a row of pearls in the middle¹² (fig. 268).

1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. 49, fig. 18.

2. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XXI, fig. 1; Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63.

3. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 20.

4. Cunningham, *Bharhut* pl. 49, fig. 17.

5. *Ibid.*, figs. 15 & 16.

6. Yazadani, *Ajantā*, pl. III, pl. XVIII, a.

7. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXV.

8. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107; Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 5.

9. Stella Kramrich, *Indian Sculpture*, pl. I. Bhuvaneshwara.

10. Madanjeet Singh C. P. A., Cave IX, fig. 5.

11. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 687.

12. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 17, a.

(9) A twisted armlet with a conch shell like appearance in the middle¹ (fig. 269).

Bracelets, wristlets and bangles

These are worn by male as well as female.

(1) The most common ornament is the succession of strings of square or rounded beads. The Kubera Yaksha² has six rings of square beads and the Nāga Rāja Chakavāka³ has five rings (Ill. XV) while the Batanamara Yakshi⁴ has six bangles of rounded beads. Sometimes, the rings are worn of different shapes of beads.⁵

(2) The spiral and coiled rings are also in vogue. Sirima Devata has twelve or thirteen rings in both hands.⁶ These types of bracelets are very common in Bharhut sculpture. The spiral bangles of Chanda Yakshini (Ill. XI) is very peculiar.⁷ Cunningham has described, "these undoubtedly consist of spirals of ten coils each, with a jewelled plate on the outside of the wrist, and on the inside a curious arrangement of four perpendicular wires attached to a loop, apparently for the purpose of keeping the spiral closed"⁸ (figs. 281, 282). Sometimes, the many bangles are worn which cover the hand from wrist to elbow or just below to elbow.⁹ Sometimes, the bangles are worn with two kaṭaka on both sides, one near the wrist and other near the elbow.¹⁰

Some bangles are yielded from the archaeological sites of this period e.g. Sonepur,¹¹ Nevāsā,¹² Ujjain, Pauni.¹³

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1. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 3.
 2. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, XXII, 1.
 3. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, 3.
 4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, 2.
 5. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXVI, 70.
 6. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIII, 1.
 7. *Ibid.*, pl. LI, 1.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 9. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. VI; Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXVII, 72, a.
 10. Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
 11. I. A. R., 1956-57, p. 19.
 12. *Ibid.*, 1959-60, p. 25.
 13. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pls. XLVIII, no. 12, pl. XLVIII, no. 16.

(3) A wristlet with thin rings on either sides of rims¹ (fig. 274). Sometimes, the 'kaṭakas' worn are two or three in number² (figs. 271, 272). The Kosam terracotta³ has worn the four kaṭaka in each hand. The kaṭaka of her are very heavy and studded with jewels and pearls. From third and fourth kaṭaka, the pearl chains hang (fig. 283).

(4) A wristlet with two rows of square beads on the sides⁴ (fig. 280).

(5) Many bangles with wristlet and bracelet—A Yakashi from Amin⁵ has worn thirteen bangles with a wristlet with two rows of square beads and a bracelet at the end of the number of the bangles. The bracelet has leaf like decoration with a circular design in the middle (fig. 275).

(6) A broad flat bracelet⁶ (figs. 276, 278).

(7) A broad bracelet consisting four thin bangles alternating with thick heavy bangles⁷ (Ill. VII).

(8) A broad bracelet of chequered designs studded with pearls in rows⁸ (fig. 270). The number of rows of studded pearls is varied from two to four. This type of bracelet is very common in the Sanchi Sculpture. This type, owing to its chequered design may be identified with 'jāla-valaya' of the Gāthā-Saptasatī.⁹

(9) The bracelet of the statue of Lingam of Gudimallam¹⁰ are of different designs. He has worn five bracelets, each has different designs (figs. 249-253). A terracotta man kidnapping women Kauśāmbī, has worn the bracelet. A small bell hangs from the bracelets on his left hand,¹¹ (III. XLVI).

Finger Ring

Illustration of finger-rings are very limited. Some figures depicted at Bharhut e.g. Sirima Devata, Chanda Yakshi, Chulakoka Devata are represented wearing the finger rings¹² (Ills. XI, XII). In the figure of śāla plucker depicted at Bharhut,

1. Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XLIII.
2. Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XV, fig. 40, a.; Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LVIII, LVII, B. & C.
3. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhārtīya Kalā*, fig. 503.
4. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, No. 1.
5. R. C. Agrawala, "Sunga Pillars from Amin, near Kurukshetra", *Lalit Kalā*, No. 14., pl. XVI, fig. 2.
6. Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., pl. 48. Cave X.
7. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.
8. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 39.
9. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 208.
10. T. A. Gopinath Rao, E. H. I., pl. IV, figs. 2-7.
11. S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 145.
12. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pls. XXII, XXIII.

rings of four fingers are clearly illustrated¹ (fig. 299) The small finger has two rings studded with jewels. The next two fingers have rings consisting of seven or more coils. A big ring, studded with a jewel, appears in the thumb. From Pauni, a palm of left hand has the rings in the fingers.²

Waist Ornament

In the Śunga Period, the girdles of women are quite elaborate consisting of several decorated metallic pieces and several strings of beads. We notice several types of girdle which are given below :

(1) The girdle of Sirima Devata³ is very elaborate specimen. She has worn three girdles. Cunningham has given large sketch and description of her girdle. "The broad flat belt, marked A, I take to be an embroidered girdle of cloth of gold, for the manufacture of which the Indians have always been conspicuous. The two small bead-girdles of two strings each, marked B and C, are what I take to be the early imitation of the strings of the red rati seeds in gold or hard stones, such as agate, jasper, carnelian, lapis-lazuli, jade and others. The remaining strings, which I have numbered consecutively, form a rich example of the Sapatki or Kāñchī of "seven strings". Of these the two outside strings consist of square beads, next which comes a string of round beads, and then another of square beads on each side, the middle line being either a chain or a string of oval beads"⁴ (fig. 284).

(2) Many girdles are provided with tiny bells which sound as the wearer move.⁵ It is 'saptakī' mekhalā consisting seven strings, first has rectangular and barrel shaped beads; the second, decorated metallic pieces; the third, round beads and round metallic pieces consisting circlets; the fourth, decorated rectangular pieces, the fifth, the barrel shaped beads and bells; the sixth, like third and bells; the seventh, like fourth (fig. 285).

(3) Some-times, the girdles consist of many strings of different kinds of beads of different shapes. The girdle of the Mehrauli Yakshi⁶ has six strings, first, second, third and fifth strings have barrel shaped beads, sixth rectangular beads while fourth strand has circular plaque decorated with eight petalled lotus flower (fig. 64). Many girdles, represented as originated from Kalp-Vṛiksha⁷ are made

1. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 36;

Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIV, 5.

2. S. B. Deo & J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXVI, No. 13, p. 49.

3. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, fig. 2.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. LI, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. LI, fig. 3.

6. V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60, p. 96.

7. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLVII.

of pearl and bead strings alternating with cylindrical beads or rectangular plaque probably clasped together below the navel. This type of girdle is seen many times as worn by females¹ (fig. 286). The number of strings is not fixed.

(4) The girdle worn by a terracotta female figurine from Tamluka² has three strings—upper and lower are of gadrooned beads and the middle is of circular plaque studded with precious stones. From lower string two broad pendants hang on the both thighs which have bead strings, figures of seated persons with up-raised hands and small strings of beads serving as fringes. These additional parts of girdle are not common. According to Jhosi³ the girdle of the Batanamar Yakshi also has an additional ornament similarly attached to the girdle. But it appears that the decorative ornament, full of pearls or beads hanging in front, is a 'paryastaka' or paṭakā which is tucked in the girdle. The beaded 'paryastaka' is also seen in Kauśāmbī⁴ and Mathura⁵ terracottas.

(5) Some-times, the girdle has metallic pieces arranged one over the other. In some cases elongated barrel shaped beads form the lower string of girdle of five strings.⁶ Sometimes a buckle is in the middle⁷ (fig. 288). In a case, a circular clasp is seen.⁸

(6) The girdle of a terracotta of Golakapur, Patna⁹ with four strings of different kinds of beads is slightly dropping down the navel. The four strings are not joined in one, but there are two girdles of two strings. The upper girdle consists strings of barrel shaped beads and circular plaques. The lower girdle consists of two rows of elongated barrel shaped beads. She has worn also a flat waist band with buckle from which hang a bunch of tassels with floral ends running over the girdle.¹⁰

(7) Sometimes, a simple mekhala is worn of one or many strings of rounded beads. In the Sāñchī Sculpture, mostly the women are wearing one or two strings

1. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XIV, middle; XXIII.

2. Johnston, "A Terracotta figure at Oxford", J. I. S. O. A., Vol. X, pp. 94-102.

3. N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 216.

4. Moti Chandra, "Terracottas in Bhārata Kalā Bhawana", *Chhavi*, 1976 fig. 19; Bharata Kala Bhavan Arch. no. 22179.

5. V. S. Agrawala, "Mathura Terracotta", J. U. P. H. S., Vol. IX, pl. 10, fig. 32.

6. Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 28.

7. *Ibid.*, fig. 23; Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. 102.

8. Marshall and Foucher *Sāñchī*, pl. XXX.

9. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 499.

10. Cf. Mehrauli Yakshi, V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60.

of rounded beads or pearls¹ (figs. 289, 290). The girdle of dancer depicted on the west gate of Sāñchī has six strings of rounded beads alternating with cylindral plaques.² The female figure excavated from Pauni³ is represented wearing four stringed girdle of oval beads. The girdle is worn very loosely. It indicates that the girdle is worn for beauty, not to secure the lower garment.

Foot Ornament

Anklets are worn by all the females but there is not much variety in them.

(1) The most common variety resembles the coiled string entwining the leg above the ankle⁴ (fig. 297). The lower end of it is shaped like the mouth of a crocodile. "It is well known that the Scythians, to whom belonged the treasure of the 'Oxus', were great lovers of animal forms and the spirals ending in animal forms were in all probability borrowed from them in Greece and Iran. India had no direct connection with the Scythians before some of them had entered India in the 1st century A. D. and the conventional lion and the rope tube of the spirals were in all probability received from Iran".⁵

(2) Some-times, the upper and lower rings of anklets are decorated with several designs⁴ (fig. 292). Sometimes, the anklets with small bells (kinkini) in lower rings are seen⁶ (fig. 291, Ill. XXI). In Bharhut, Sculpture, the apsara has worn this type of anklets. In Ramayan 'svanavanti' is used for this type of anklets.⁷

(3) Some spiral rings are originated from Kalpvriksha which V. S. Agrawala has named 'balewadā nupūra'⁸ (Ill. XXIII).

(4) In many cases, the anklets are seen in a shape of thick bangle.⁹ Sometimes, it is worn along with the several thin rings¹⁰ (fig. 293). Sometimes, they reach near the knus (fig. 296).

(5) The anklets of beaded rings were also in vogue.¹¹

(6) Anklets with double 'kaṇā' were also in use.¹² (fig. 296).

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1. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pls. IX, 1, XXIII, figs. 1 & 2.
 2. *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, figs. 3 & 4.
 3. S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX, p. 44.
 4. K. K. Gangoli, "Jewellery in Ancient India", J. I.S.O.A., Vol. X, p. 153.
 5. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, fig. 6;
 6. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, fig. 5; Bhārata Kalā Bhavan, Arch. No 169.
 7. Ramayan, V. 15.46.; N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., p. 220.
 8. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, figs. 240-41.
 9. P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.; Deshpande, "The Rock-Cut Caves of Pitalkhora in Deccan", *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LV, A.
 10. Maisey, *Op. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 2.
 11. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI, 2.
 12. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchī*, pl. XI.

Conclusion

Dress and Ornaments are likely to change like other items of culture. They have played a vital role in developing the material culture of human race from the beginning of civilization.

We see dhoti is the favourite garment of Indian people, but the change is seen in mode of wearing of it. From Vedic period till today, we have seen, the Indians generally used dhoti to cover the body. The men generally used three garments : dhoti, dupaṭṭā and ushṇisha. 'Ushṇisha', which was favourite item during the Indus Valley Civilization and in the Vedic period, it became now popular. We get reference of 'Ushṇisha' worn by Indrani. In later Vedic literature, we get the references of 'ushṇisha' worn by Mahākulas and Vratyas. The Vedic females generally wore sārī as a lower garment in such a manner that covered the upper part of body also. Additional garment like bodice was used only on occasions.

During the Maurya and Śunga periods also dhoti and dupaṭṭa were worn by men as well as women. We see during these periods the evolution of head-dresses take place and become more complicated. Various types of head-dresses and hair dressing are met in the sculptures and terracottas. In the sculptures, the lower garment is depicted as elaborately pleated in front and secured by a girdle. The men, especially of lower orders discarded the upper garment (uttariya) in the home or in the hot weather.

The females also did not use the upper garment inside the house. Probably only a part of lower garment was drawn over the upper part of body. A separate garment is often worn by ladies but it does not at all cover their bosom. James Fergusson, one of the first zealous students of the Ancient Indian sculpture, is of opinion that nudity had no sense of indecency in India prior to advent of the Muslims.¹ So the women depicted in sculptures, paintings and terracottas naturally appear naked or semi-naked. This thought has been controverted by Altekar.² In this connection, he says, "Draupadi when dragged out by her garment by Duśāsana is described as having the upper part of her sari falling down. In Buddhist literature also we find that when a Bhikshuni went to village without wearing kanchuka, felt sorry.³ Thus we conclude that the upper part of body was covered, its absence in the sculptures is due to artistic convention of the age. The later

1. J. Fergusson, T. S. W., pp. 102-3.

2. Altekar, P. W. H. C., p. 102.

3. Bhikhunipatimokkha, IV, 40.96.

sculptures of Sāñchī and Mathura show that the sari is worn covering the waist, but thighs and legs are bare. It is impossible to wear the sari in a way that it should cover the waist and feet but leave the legs and thighs bare. Therefore the nudity and scantiness of female dress are due to artistic ideals only.

The foreigners who visited India in the time of Maurya and Śuṅga Empires, give us useful information about the dress and ornaments of the people. According to Nearchus "Indians wore an undergarment of cotton which reached below the knees and half way down to the ankles, and an upper garment which they threw partly over their head. They wore ear ring of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them."¹ In sculptures the shoes are not represented. Only three or four instances are there. But from this we could not conclude that the shoes were not worn by the people, because there are many references of shoes in literature. Nearchus also says, "They wear shoes made of white leather and these are elaborately trimmed, while the shoes are variegated and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the latter."²

The people were expert in the art of dressing. The lay people wore the garment in very artistic modes. They wore the coloured garments according to their complexion of body and taste. Dr. Sandhya Mukharjee writes on the basis of Mahāparinibbana Sutta : "When the Blessed one visited Vaisali, the people of that country went into a body to meet him, dressed in their best. Those who were of darkish complexion, dress themselves dark clothes and ornaments. Those who were fair, wore light coloured garments. Those who were ruddy in complexion, wore red clothes and ornaments. And those who were pale, dressed themselves in white clothes and ornaments."³

There was no much difference between male and female costumes and ornaments. Both used dhotī, head-dresses and ornaments, though the females used more ornaments than the males. Generally the women wore fine garment made of cotton, silk and linen. They used more embroidered and brocaded garments. The men generally used the dhoti with sakachcha but some-times, the females also used this manner. The females wore lalāṭikā, mekhalā and anklets also which were not used by males. Hair was parted in middle and was dressed in beautiful modes. The practice of tatooing marks on the face was also in vogue. The tatooing marks on the face are noticed first of all in the school of Bharhut sculpture. Skirt and kūrpaśaka and kanchuka are also worn by male and female. Sometimes the females wore frilled ghāgharā. Buddha had prescribed kanchuka or bodice, especially for the young nuns.

1. Mc. Crindle, A. I. D. M. A., p. 224.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

3. Sandhya Mukharjee, *Some Aspects of Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 225.

The females took care in matching of colour. The length of sari of female was also longer than the male's dhoti. Sita wore only one piece of garment during her captivity at Lanka.¹ From this it appears that the sari of ladies was so long that it also covered the upper part of body, when required. Men generally wore *uttariya* on the shoulders in variable manners.

The kind of cloth, clothes and jewellery were used by people according to their status. The people of higher status wear the garment of fine muslin, silk and *kshauma vastra*. They used fine cloth as head dress. Sometimes the pearls and jewels were also used in *ushnisha*. Generally, the people of higher status wore two garments, one dhoti and other *uttariya* while the people of lower status wore only one garment, i.e. dhoti. The width of dhoti was also shorter. Generally their dhoti reaches upto the knees. The dhoti of higher people reaches below the knees. They wore more brocaded and bordered garments. Probably the workers wore *sakachchha dhoti*.

The dress of king was the same as the dress of rich people. They generally used three garments *antaravāsaka*, *uttarāsaṅga* and *ushnisha*. The kings are represented wearing these three garments. The *uttariya* is not represented usually. The use of decorative ornaments were also in fashion along with the dress. The kings are represented wearing *vapra-kunḍala*, *hāra*, *valaya* etc. Usually the kings wore *ushnisha* but on special occasions they wore crown. The dress of queens was also similar to the dress of other rich females. They wore *dhoti*, *dupaṭṭā* and the veil of fine cloth.

The house-holder *brāhmaṇas* wore fine garments and costly ornaments. They kept right shoulder bare. They shaved their head, keeping a crest lock. They did not keep beard.

The hermits wore the *śāṭaka* of leaves and bark of trees. They wore matted hair and long beard. Ornaments were not of their use.

The monks wore three garments '*antaravāsaka*', '*uttarāsaṅga*' and '*saṃghāṭi*' dyed in yellow colour. The female nuns were allowed the use of *kañchuka*. Shoes were also worn by monks.

Different dresses for different occasions were popular. Hunting dress differed from that of every day costume. In Sanchi the hunters are represented wearing *kañchuka* and drawers. During the war the men used red garment due to exciting quality of red colour. Dress worn on festive occasions were chosen with individual taste and habit. On the special occasions head-dresses also were worn. At wedding time the brides wore embroidered and brocaded *kshauma* cloth of red or yellow colour. They used beauty spot (*lalāṭikā*) on the forehead. The Hindu widows wore white garments and no ornaments while the Buddhist widows the coloured

1. *Ramayaṇa* V. 15.21.; refer S. N. Wyaś, *India in the Rāmayān Age*. p.

garments and ornaments also. In Buddhist religion, it was not compulsory to wear white garments.

The developed industries of textile and mining reveal the good and prosperous life of people. During these periods under study textile manufacture was one of the major industries. The textile was manufactured from kārpāsa, kshauma, and woollen fabrics. Skins, valkals and leaves were also used as the clothing materials. Kāśī, Vaṅga, Vatsa, Kalinga, Mahisha, Puṇḍra, Suvarṇabhūmi were the centres of the textile industry. The cloth of Kasi was very famous. Cotton manufacture held the first place among textile industries and was exported in a large quantity to the foreign countries.

There were certain experts in cutting, sewing, embroidering, dyeing and laundering.

The jewellery and lapidarist's art was very advanced. Many varieties of ornaments of gold, silver, ivory, diamond, beads of precious and semi-precious stones like carnelian, lapislazuli, agate, coral, etc. were worn by men as well as women. The art of goldsmith and silversmith was very advanced. The ornaments were of graceful designs and workmanship.

We may conclude that the social and economical conditions of the state were very prosperous. The contact with foreign countries was also good. Various materials were exported and imported. The place of women in the society was high. The women in special circumstances took some much occupations as that of spinning, weaving, sewing etc.

Dhotī and dupaṭṭā were the basic garments of the males and females. But in the Mauryan period, the dhotī was worn without hind pleats. It was wrapped round the loin in a simple manner that it hides completely the back view of the statues. While in the Śuṅga period, we find, dhotī was worn with hind pleats and only upto the knees or just below the knees. In this period, the drapery was girt up closely with the body and is revealed more in front than in back. Dhotī of the Śuṅga style was shorter than the Mauryan. In the Śuṅga period, the lappets of the dhoti is seen in front between the legs. The drapery of the Parakhama Yaksha and Didarganja Yakshi is close to the Śuṅga fashions. The lappet between the legs is similar to the Śuṅga style, but their brilliant polish puts them during the Mauryan-period. In the Śuṅga period, the females sometimes wore a decorative piece of cloth which was tucked in front between the legs. Vikachchha style of dhoti is also seen in the Śuṅga period, which shows continuation of the Mauryan style.

In the Mauryan period some females are seen wearing flowing skirt. Probably the skirt came in vogue due to Persian influence. The use of skirt appears to have continued even in the Śuṅga period. In this period, the males also wore the skirt.

The use of upper garment is noticed for the first time in the Indus valley period. In the Vedic, Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures, the references of upper garment are numerous, but in the art of the Maurya and Śuṅga periods, the use of upper garment is not commonly revealed in most of the available representations. In the Kushan period, there are some evidences in which the entire body is draped by one piece of garment. In the Gupta period, the use of various types of upper garments is noticed. Thus it may be suggested that long kañchuka, vārabāṇa, chiton, himatin, trousers came in practice in the Śuṅga period due to Greek impact and became more popular in the Kushan period.

In the Mauryan period, the head dresses are not common, while in the Śuṅga period, we find various designs and modes of wearing the 'ushnīsha' and coiffure. The Śuṅga age is one of the most glorious epochs in the history of evolution of head-dress styles. In the Mauryan literature we find some references of 'kiriṭa', 'ushnīsha' etc., but unfortunately, we have no material evidence in art. The forehead band and fan like head-dress revealed in the Indus Valley period,¹ reappeared in the Śuṅga period. According to some authors, the forehead band is of Western origin.² The cap appears in the Śuṅga period. Various types of cap are revealed in sculptures and terracottas.

Various types of other coiffure are also revealed in the Śuṅga period. The use of auspicious symbols viz. aṅkuśa, vajra, dvaja, śrīvatsa etc., the use of rosettes and palm-fronds in the head-dress decorations shows the continuation of the Mauryan styles. The curly hair is revealed for the first time in the Śuṅga art.

We see also the evolution of ornaments in the Śuṅga period. The pearl strings and bead-strings around the forehead and hair top knot appear in the Śuṅga period. Lalāṭikā also became more popular in this period. Various types of lalāṭikā are revealed in the Bharhut sculptures. Prākāravapra Kuṇḍal is the most characteristic feature of the Śuṅga period, which was absent in the earlier period and disappeared in later periods. Only some earlier statues like the Parakham Yaksha has worn this type of Kuṇḍala which belongs to the transition period between the Mauryan and Śuṅga art. Ear-rings are very common, which remains in vogue in the subsequent period.

It is noticed that the phalaka hara and many stringed necklace became more common in the Śuṅga period. The fashion of torque which was worn in the Mauryan period, is also seen in the Śuṅga period along with the long necklaces. The use of triratna and śrīvatsa symbols in the necklaces is revealed in this period. The 'vaikakshyaka' and 'channavira' ornaments firstly revealed in the Śuṅga period are the modified forms of 'upavita'.

The plume like sapatra keyura also appears in the Śuṅga period. According to Rai Govind Chandra, "This plume motif appears to be an innovation and might

have come to India with the Greeks.”¹ It was absent in earlier time coiled armlets and bangles are seen in both the Maurya and Śuṅga period. A new type of heavy bangle with chequered design appears at Sanchi.

Girdles of the Śuṅga period are more elaborate. In this period many strung girdle made up of metallic plaques and beads of different shapes and designs, was popular. It seems that in early Mauryan period,² the males also used the beaded girdle. But in latter period, it is replaced by belts of decorative cloth. In the Śuṅga period there is no evidence of male girdle ornament. The buckle used in the mekhalā of females is seen in both periods, as it appears even in the present time also.

The anklet was worn by females only. It came more in vogue in the Śuṅga period. Balevaḍā nupūra is revealed in the Śuṅga period only.

We see some impact of Western countries on the Indian Costumes and ornaments. In the Mauryan period the flowing skirt of female came in vogue due to perhaps Persian Impact and continued in the Śuṅga Period. Hair washing festival was a Persian ceremony. The Kulāh cap, forehead band, the boots upto the knees the ornaments with terminating in an animal's head were also the result of Persian contact. In the Śuṅga period, the full-sleeved coat, varabana, curly hair etc. came in fashion due to probably the Greek impact.

1. Rai Govind Chandra, *Indo Greek Jewellery*, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*, pl. II.

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List of Figures

1. Parakhama Yaksha, V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, fig. 183.
2. Patna Yaksha, *Ibid.*, fig. 185.
3. Balarama Statue, Mathura, *Ibid.*, fig. 370.
- 4-5. Maṇibhadra Yaksha, *Ibid.*, figs. 189-190.
6. Male dhotī, Pauni. S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, 2.
7. Vaikakshyaka mode of scarf, Patna Yaksha, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. X.
8. Bombay Yaksha, V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 69.
9. Gangita Yaksha, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI.
10. Scarf on the arms, Chakavaka Nagaraja, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI, C.
11. Mantle, Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. X.
12. Male dhoti, Kharamukha Yaksha, S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, No. 1.
13. Dhoti and Kamarabandha, Amaravati, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 109.
14. Dhoti and Kamarabandha, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXI.
15. Male dhotī, Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 10.
16. Short dhotī of male, Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 128.
17. Short dhotī of male, *Ibid.*, fig. 30.
18. Male dhoti, Sanchi, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 395.
- 19,20,21. Kamarabandha, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pls. XXI, XXII, a, XXII, b.
22. Tahamada, Shyāmā Jataka, Ajanta, Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 3.
23. Stripped skirt of Indo Greek Ruler, Agathocles, Aikhanum, P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., fig. 125.
24. Tahamada, Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. XII, figs. 1,2.
25. Kaupīna of ascetic, *Ibid.*, pl. XII.
26. Āyogapaṭṭa, *Ibid.*, pl. XII, fig. 2.
27. Ascetic Wearing Valkala, Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XIII, 118.
28. Ascetic wearing ayogapatta, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLVI.
29. Male figure, Kauśāmbi, Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXX, fig. 77,a.
30. Chakravartina, Jaggayyapeta, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
31. Male figure wearing vārabāṇa, Gaṇesha Cave, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 298.
32. Skirt, Sanchi, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 48.
33. Kanchuka, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. X.
- 34-35. Hunters, Sanchi, Motichandra, C. T. C. C., figs. 60,62.
36. A man in close fitting dress, Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. 97.

37. Scarf over the coat, Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 16.
38. Watch man, Pitalkhora, *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LI, A.
39. Kūrpāsaka and tahamad, Ajanta Cave IX, Madanjeet Singha, C. P. A., fig. 8.
- 40-41. Kanchuka, Ajanta, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 123, 124.
42. Kañchuka, Ajanta, Cave X, Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 8.
43. Full sleeved Kanchuka, Marshall, Sanchi, Pl. LXXVIII, 23,b.
44. Dress of Brahmana, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XII.
45. Scarf on shoulder and arm, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIX, 20.
46. Scarf on both shoulders, Barua, *Bharhut*, fig. 18.
47. *Ibid.*, fig. 9,a.
48. Scarf on left shoulder and right arm, Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 112.
49. Scarf being waved in air, *Ibid.*, fig. 32.
50. Scarf covering shoulders and back, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 406.
51. Suchiloma Yaksha, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII.
52. Scarf on both shoulders, Ancient Loṭā kullu, P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 127.
53. Scarf round the neck, *Bharhut*, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, pl. 95.
54. Shoe, Sanchi, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. X.
55. Shoe of Warrior, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXXII, 4.
56. Shoe of Indo-Greek Ruler, Agathocles, Ai-khanum, P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 125.
57. Shoe, Sanchi, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 48.
58. Shoe, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 298.
59. Didarganj Yakshi, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 187.
60. Besnagar Yakshi, *Ibid.*, fig. 186.
- 61-63. Dancing girls of Terracotta, Patna, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 80,c, 80,d, 81,b.
64. Mehrauli Yakshi, V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., fig. 60.
65. Female figure, Sonkh, Mathura, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 77,a.
66. Female figure, Amaravati, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
67. Female dhoti upto the knees, Sanchi, Motichandra, C. T. C. C. fig. 40.
68. Female figure, *Bharhut*, Cunningham, pl. XXX, 3.
69. Sari, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. VII.
70. Sakachcha Sari, Sanchi, Motichandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 42.
71. Female ascetic, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLI, 1.
72. *Ibid.*, Marshall, Sanchi, pl. XXIX.
73. Short Sari, female, Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 23.
74. Sari reaching little below the knees, Marshall, *Sanchi*, pl. XI.
75. Sari upto the ankles, Coomaraswamy, Bodhgaya, pl. LIV.
76. Male head, Terracotta, Sonkh near Mathura, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 74a, & 75a.

77. Male head, Sarnath, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 39,c.
78. Male head dress, Barua, Barhut, fig. 47.
79. Stone head of male, Sarnath, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 13.
80. Terracotta head from Basarh. Ibid., pl. 13.
81. Fillet, Warrior, Barua, *Barhut*, pl. LXII.
82. Turban, N. P. Joshi, Mathura Sculptures, pl. 5.
83. Turban, Amaravati, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 109.
84. Terracotta male head, Buxer, P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 50.
85. Winding the turban cloth, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XV.
- 86-89. Turbans, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., figs. 77,78,82,35.
90. Turban, Sanchi, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 435.
91. Turban, Bharhut, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 25.
- 92-94. Turbans, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., figs. 75,81,74.
95. Turban, Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. XI.
96. Turban, S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX, fig. 11, No. 1.
97. Turban of Balaram, Mathura, V S Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 370.
98. Head gear of Chakravartin, Jaggayyapeta, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 107.
99. Turban, Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XV, fig. 40,a.
- 100-102. Caps, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pls. XXIV, pl. VII, fig. 2, pl. XXIV.
103. Kulah cap, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. X.
104. Cap with tassel, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 463.
- 105-106. Bicornet cap, Barua, Buddhagaya, fig. 43,b.
107. Turban, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. IX, fig. 1.
108. Head gear, Agathocles, Indo Greek Ruler, Ai-khanam, P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pls. 125-126.
109. Cap with plume, Sanchi, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 88.
110. Cap, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. X.
111. Top knot of hair, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XII.
112. Fillet, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 475.
113. Cap, Sanchi, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 86.
114. Cap, Sanchi, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 85.
115. Head gear, Sanchi, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 482.
116. Kirita, Sanchi, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 487.
117. Top knot of hair, Bhaja, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63.
118. Cap, Sanchi, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 489.
119. Three knots of hair on the head, Ajanta, Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 5.
120. Curly hair, Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXXIV, 2.
121. Bicornet head dress, female terracotta, Bulandibag, P. L. Gupta, P. M. C. A., pl. XL.

122. Head dress of female terracotta from Buxer, P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 49.
123. Ibid., S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 79, d.
124. Ibid, P. L. Gupta, G. V. T. A., fig. 47.
- 125-127. Head dresses of terracotta mother goddess, *Chhavi*, 1976, figs. 7, 11, 15.
128. Head of Didarganj Yakshi.
129. Hair style of Lauriya-Nandangarh, M. G. P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 7.
130. Cap, Bulandibag terracotta, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 80, e.
131. Conch-shaped head dress, Buxer terracotta, S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 128.
132. Coif with plume in middle, Pitalkhora, Ancient India, No. 15, pl. LV, A.
133. Coif, V. S. Agrawala, Bharatiya Kala, fig. 269.
134. Coif, Ring stone, Murtaziganj, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 20, e.
135. Head of Kausambi terracotta, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., fig. 9, 12.
136. Head dress with Srivatsa symbol, P. K. Agrawala, Srivatsa, pl. 8.
137. Mantle, Kausambi terracotta, S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 124.
138. Scarf on the head, Kausambi, Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXIX, fig. 74.
139. Head dress with beaded chain, Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 69.
140. Braided hair, Kausambi, S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 25.
141. Flowing hair, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. IX, fig. 1.
142. Three knots on the head, Sonkh, Mathura, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 77, a.
143. Hair style with simanta, Ancient lota, kullu, P. K. Agrawala, E. I. B., pl. 127.
144. Top knot of hair, Pitalkhora, Motichandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 6.
145. Braided hair, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XXIV, fig. 3.
146. Hair style, Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. XI, Krishnamurti, H. S. A. I., fig. VI, 12.
147. Fan like hair style of female, *Sanchi*, Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. XVIII.
- 148-149. Hair style of female Fergusson, T. S. W., pl. XXXV, fig. 2.
150. Hair knot close to the nape of neck.
151. Hair knot close to the head, Barua, *Barhut*, pls. LXXXIII, 121.
152. Śikhaṇḍa, Maya's dream, Zimmer. A. I. A., pl. 31, d.
153. Matted hair in a knot, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLVIII, 3.
154. Hair knot on the back, Maya's dream, H. Zimmer, A. I. A., pl. 31, d.
155. Hair style of female, Barua, *Bharhut*, fig. 31.
156. Braided and plaited hair, Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXXIV.
157. Braided hair, Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. XXIV.
158. Braided hair, Motichandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 9.
- 159-167. Various modes of wearing the orhani, Motichandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 44, 45, 48, 47, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52.
168. Turban, Bharhut, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 101.

169. Cap, Sanchi, Motichandra, C. T. C. C. fig. 56.
170. Cap, Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 43 (b).
171. Turban, Sanchi, Motichandra, P. B. V. B., fig. 102.
172. Helmet, *Sanchi*, Motichandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 57.
173. Close-fitting cap, Barua, *Buddha-gaya*, fig. 11.
174. Cap, *Sanchi*, Motichandra, C. T. C. C., fig. 55.
175. Head gear of Buxer terracotta, S. C. Kala, T. A. M., fig. 130.
176. Turban, Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXX, 23.
- 177-184. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, figs. 1-8.
185. Ear ornament, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XIV, fig. 7.
186. Ear pendant, Didarganj Yakshi.
187. Ear ornament of Bulandibag terracotta, S. P. Gupta, R. I. A., pl. 81, b.
- 188-189. Ear ornament, Kosam terracotta, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 503.
190. Ear-ring, Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgaya*, pl. VI.
191. Ear-ring consisting several rings, Pitalkhora, *Ancient India*, pl. XLIX, A.
192. Ear-ring, Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XXXI.
193. Triangular ear pendant, Motichandra, S. S. P. W. M., pl. 4.
194. Discoidal ear ornament, Pramod Chandra, S. S. A. M., pl. XXV, fig. 69.
195. Ear-ring studded with jewels, Pramod Chandra, *Bharhut*, pl. 41, a.
196. Squarish ear ornament, Maisey, *Sāñchī and its Remains*, pl. IX, fig. 1.
- 197-198. Barrel shaped ear ornaments, Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 5.
199. Conch shaped ear ornament, Sanchi, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 593.
- 200-201. Patra Kuṇḍalas, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., figs. 598, 599.
202. Leaf like ear ornament, Lalit Kala, Vols. 1 & 2, pl. XVIII, fig. 3.
203. Descoidal ear ornament, Sarnath Stone head.
204. Wheel like ear ornament, Buxer terracotta, S. P. Gupta, R.I.A., pl. 77b.
205. Triratna ear ornament, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, 9.
206. Prakaravapra Kundala, *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, 13, 14.
207. Jumakha, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XLIX, 10.
208. Dehari, *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, 12.
209. Baroda Yaksha, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 184.
210. Torque, Mathura Yaksha, V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., 61 & 63.
211. Kanṭhā.
- 212-214. Kanṭhā, Pramod Chandra, S.S.A. M., pls. XVII, XXIX. fig. 74, XXXII, 77, a.
215. Hara, Ahichchhatra, *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXI, fig. 4.
216. Necklace, P. K. Agrawala, M. R. P., pl. I.
- 217-218. Aṣṭamaṅgalaka hara.
219. Vaikakshyaka hara Batanamara Yakshi.
220. Pearl necklace, Didarganj Yakshi.
221. Vaikakshyaka hara, Golakapur terracotta, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 499.

222. Hāra, Barua, Barhut, fig. 80; N. P. Joshi, L. A. U. fig. 644.
223. Pearl hara, Maisey, Sanchi and its Remains, pls. XXII, XIV.
224. Mekhalā, Cunningham, Bharhut, pl. XLIV.
225. Hara with Śrīvatsa symbol, *Ancient India*, No. 4, pl. XXXII, 12.
226. Vaikakshyaka hara, Chanda Yakshi.
227. Cross belt Pitalkhora, *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LI
228. Vaikakshyaka hara, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXII.
229. Śirshaka hara, Bodhgaya, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 281.
230. Kanṭhā, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. L, 2.
231. Triratna Necklace, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. L, 5.
232. Necklace of Chanda Yakshi, Ibid. pl. L, 7.
233. Necklace, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LII.
234. Short necklace, Ibid., L, 1.
235. Necklace, Barua, Barhut, fig. 24. h
236. Hara with round plaque, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 624
- 237-239. Phalaka hara, Marshall and Foucher, Sanchi, 37.
240. Phalaka hara, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 623.
241. Phalaka hara, S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXV, No. 1.
242. Short necklace, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*. pl. XXV.
243. Chhannavira, S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XXX, No. 1.
- 244-245. Chhannavira, Cunningham, Bharhut, pls, XXIII, XV.
246. Chhannavira, Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, Pl. 29, Dhavalikar, S. C. S., fig. 37.
247. Short necklace, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XV. 13.
248. Torque, Gopinath Rao, E. H. I., pl. IV, 2.
- 249-253. Bracelets, Ibid., pl. IV, figs 3-7.
- 254-257. Armlets, Cunningham, *Bharhut* pl. 49. figs. 15, 16 17.
258. Coiled armlet, Manibhadra Yaksha, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 687.
259. Feathery armlet, Mathura Yaksha, V. S. Agrawala, S. I. A., figs; 61 and 63.
260. Coiled armlet, Patna Yaksha.
261. Beaded armlet, Yazdani, Ajanta, pt. III, pl. XVIII, a.
262. Armlet, Barua, Barhut, pl. LXV.
263. Armlet, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XXI, fig. 1.
264. Armlet with plumes, Bachhofer, E. I. S., pl. 63.
- 265-267. Armlets, Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., fig. 5.
268. Armlets with feathers, Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 17. a.
269. Armlet, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XIV, fig. 3.
270. Bracelet with chequered design, Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, pl. 39.

271. Heavy bangles, *Sanchi*, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., fig. 682.
272. Bangles, *Ibid.*, fig. 675.
273. Bracelet of square plaques, *Ancient India*, No. 15, pl. LIX, E.
274. Bracelet, Barua, *Barhut*, pl. XLIII.
275. Bangles, *Lalit Kala*, No. 14, pl. XVI, 2.
276. Bracelet, Madanjeet Singh, C. P. A., pl. 48.
277. Bracelet, *Ibid.*, fig. 5.
278. *Ibid.*, fig. 5.
279. Beaded bangles, S. B. Deo and J. P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation*, pl. XIX.
280. Braccelet, *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, no. 1.
- 281-282. Bracelet, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, fig. 1.
283. Elaborate bracelet, Kosam terracotta, V. S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kala*, fig. 503.
284. Mekhalā, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, 2.
285. Mekhalā, *Ibid.*, pl. LI, 3.
286. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI.
287. Mekhalā, Besnagar Yakshi.
288. Girdle with clasp, Barua, *Barhut*, fig. 23.
289. Single stringed necklace, Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. IX, 1.
290. Double stringed mekhala, *Ibid.*
291. Anklet, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, 5.
292. *Ibid.*, pl. LI, 6.
- 293-295. Pāda Kaṭaka, N. P. Joshi, L. A. U., figs. 718, 719, 723.
296. Anklet, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXXII, 6.
297. Spiral anklet, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. LI, fig. 4.
298. Anklet of Didarganj Yakshi.
299. Finger rings, Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XXIX, 5.

List of Illustrations

- I. Kauśāmbī (Allahabad, U. P.), Stone Disc, 200 B. C. Bhārata Kalā Bhavan.
- II. Didarganj, Yakshi, Patna, back, 300 B. C., Patna Museum.
- III. Didarganj Yakshi, front, 300 B. C., Patna Museum.
- IV. Patna Yaksha, headless, 300 B. C., Stone, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- V. Besnagar Yakshi, Vidiśhā near Bhopal, (M. P.), 300 B.C.—200 B.C., State Museum, Vidisha.
- VI. Besnagar Yaksha, Vidisha (M. P.), Stone 200 B. C., State Museum, Vidisha.
- VII. Railing Pillar with Yakshi, Mathura, Stone, 100 B. C., Mathura Museum.
- VIII. Yaksha with Chauri, Stone. Mathura, 200 B. C., Mathura Museum.
- IX. Fragment of toraṇa architrave. Stone, Kauśāmbī, Allahabad, 100 B. C., Allahabad Museum.
- X. Railing Pillar with Yaksha, Bhita, Allahabad, Stone, 200 B. C., Allahabad Museum, No. 57.
- XI. Chanda Yakshi, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XII. Chulakoka Devatā, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XIII. Railing Pillar, Medallion, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XIV. Apsaras. dancing in celebration of Gotama's enlightenment, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XV. Chakavāka Nāgarāja, Bharhut, 200 B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XVI. Warrior, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XVII. Māyā Devi's deam, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XVIII. Female Figure. peeping from over a curtain, half medallion, Bharhut 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XIX. Alambusa Jātaka, Pillar medallion, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XX. Crossbar medallion fragment, Bharhut, 200 B. C.
- XXI. Yakshi, Bharhut, 200 B. C. Bhārata Kala Bhavana.
- XXII. Great railing pillar, medallion, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XXIII. Great railing pillar, Sudarsana Yakshi, Bharhut, 200 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XXIV. Great railing pillar, medallion, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

- XXV. Great railing pilla, coping stone, Makhadeva Jātaka, Bharhut, 200 B. C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- XXVI. Yakshi, Sāñchī, Stupa I, East Gateway, 100 B. C.
- XXVII. Dvārapala, Sāñchī, Stupa I. 100 B. C.
- XXVIII. Figure of Watchman, Sāñchī, Stupa I, Eastern gateway, 100 B. C.
- XXIX. Vessantara Jātaka, Sāñchī, Stupa I, 100 B. C.
- XXX. Sāñchī, Stupa I, Northern torana, detail showing Great Departure, 100 B. C.
- XXXI. Sāñchī, Stupa I, Eastern torana, detail showing Uruvela village, 100 B. C.
- XXXII. Sāñchī, Stupa I, Eastern Torana, detail showing miracle of the serpent in the fire temple, 100 B. C.
- XXXIII. Scene from Stupa II, Sāñchī, 200 B. C.
- XXXIV. Scene from Stupa II, Sāñchī, 200 B. C.
- XXXV. Scene from Stupa I, Sāñchī, 100 B. C.
- XXXVI. Scene of orchestra and musicians from Stupa I, Sāñchī. 100 B. C.
- XXXVII. Yaksha couple, body of Yakshi mutilated, Bodhgayā, Bihar, 100 B. C. Bodhgayā Museum.
- XXXVIII. Railing pillar with standing Yakshi, Bodhgayā, 100 B. C., Bodhgayā Museum.
- XXXIX. Railing Pillar, Amorous couple, Bodhgayā, 100 B. C., Bodhgayā Museum.
- XL. Sri Lakshmi, Kauśāmbī, Terracotta, 100 B. C., Allahabad Museum.
- XLI. Female figure with parrot, Kauśāmbī, Terracotta, 100 B. C., Allahabad Museum.
- XLII. Female figure, Mathura, Terracotta, 100 B. C., Allahabad Museum.
- XLIII. Female figure, Kauśāmbī, Terracotta, 100 B. C., Allahabad Museum.
- XLIV. Male torso holding peacock, Terracotta, 100 B. C. Allahabad Museum.
- XLV. Female bust, Kauśāmbī, Terracotta, 100 B. C. Allahabad Museum.
- XLVI. Man kidnapping woman, Kauśāmbī, Terracotta, 100 B. C., Allahabad Museum.

Word Index

Abhidhamma Piṭaka 7
Ābhīra 23
Āchchhādāna 11
Āchchhādanaka 30
Āchela 106
Ādaipechi 115
Adhikaraṇas 6
Adhyāya 6
Adhyardhamśuka 13
Aḍḍhakāsiya 20
Aḍḍhakāśīkam 21
Addhi 20
Agate 100
Ahichchhatra 3, 4, 40, 82, 103
Ajantā 9, 77, 117
Ajina 17
Ajinapaveni 20
Ākarsha 95
Ākarshika 95, 96
Akshaśālā 96
Ālakandaka coral 94
Alexander 1
Amarakosha 31, 62
Amaravati 77, 78
Amarāvati Sculpture 4
Amethyst 100
Amphora type 112
Amśuka 13
Ananta 107, 127
Aṅgaḍa 107
Aṅgulīya 107
Anklet 107, 116, 132
Aṅkuśa 85, 125
Antargataprabhā 93, 100
Antariya 28

Aparāntakam 12
Apasāraka 15, 22, 23
Apavartaka 104
Āprapadīna 29
Ardhaguchchha 104
Ardhamāṇavaka 104
Ardhamukuṭa 116
Ardhoruka 29, 41
Arishtthaṭāka 28
Armlet 115, 127
Arm Ornament 126
Arrain 7
Arthaśāstra 6, 36
Ashtādhyāyī 4, 5, 11, 13, 92
Ashtamaṅgalaka hāra 125
Aśoka 1, 2
Atka 29
Aṭṭa 25
Aurṇa 14
Aurṇaka 14
Auttara 18
Avaghāṭaka 104
Avaguṇṭhana 68
Avatansaka 106
Avāya 25
Avela 106
Ayodhya 1
Āyogapaṭṭa 33, 47
Bāla 62
Bālapāsyā 105
Balewaḍā nupūra 132
Bangle 115, 128
Barhut 8, 77, 88
Baroda Yaksha 38
Barygāzā 22, 102
Beads 103

- Belt 56
 Besnagar Yakshi 51, 52
 Bhājā 9
 Bharhut 58
 Bhāsa 6, 68, 105
 Bhiṅgiśī 15, 22, 23
 Bhir-Mound 111
 Bhiṭā 4
 Bisī 18
 Bodhgaya 8, 39, 58
 Bombay Yaksha 37, 38
 Bracelet 128, 129
 Brahm jāla Śūtra 62
 Braided hair 89
 Bramaraka 62
 Brihadratha 1
 Brihatikā 11, 29, 31
 Bulandibag 80
 Cap 68, 83
 Carnelian 99
 Cave 9
 Chaityā 9
 Champa 103
 Chākravālīka silver 95
 Chāṇakya 6
 Chanda Yakshi 57, 69
 Chāṇakya 5
 Chaṇḍātaka 29, 53
 Chandra Gupta 1
 Chandraketugarh 9, 103, 118
 Charmapaṭṭ 35
 Chaṭulātilaka 105, 116
 Chatupaṭāla 31
 Chaturasra 13
 Chaturāśrika 16
 Chaurṇeya 91
 Chela 11
 Chhannavīra 107, 126
 Chikura 62
 Chilmika 20
 Chināsī 19
 Chīnacholaka 30
 Chīnāmśuya 13
 Chīna paṭṭa 13, 23
 Chīra 11
 Chitravāsas 27
 Chivara 11, 12
 Chogā 48
 Chopper 83
 Chūḍa 62
 Chūḍāmaṇi 105
 Chullavagga 7, 25, 34, 62
 Churṇa-kuntala 62
 Climate 5
 Coat 47
 Coif 68, 83
 Coiffur 81, 87
 Coin 8
 Copper 101
 Coral 100
 Corbuncle 100
 Crown 75
 Cunningham 8, 116
 Curly hair 65, 77
 Dallier 106
 Danta-kunḍala 106
 Darpaṇa 125
 Dehri 106, 119
 Deḍḍubhaka 35
 Dhammila 66
 Dhotī 36, 37, 38
 Dhvaja 83
 Diamechus 7
 Diamond 100
 Diaphanous 56
 Didarganj yakshi 51, 111
 Diodorus 7
 Dukūla 12, 60
 Dupatṭā 37, 38, 45
 Dussa paṭṭa 35
 Dvayaṁśuka 13
 Dvipaṭāla 31
 Dyeing 27

- Ear-Ornament 111
 Ear-pendant 111, 119
 Ear-ring 111, 118
 Ear-tops 111
 Ekāṅsika 44
 Ekāvalī 104, 106, 121
 Ekveṇī 65
 Ekto-vantaka 108
 Emerald 102
 Export 99

 Fanshaped 73
 Finger-rings 116
 Flat torque 113, 122
 Flowing hair 87
 Foot-ornament 116

 Gajlakshmi 56, 58, 68
 Gandhāra 1
 Gangita Yaksha 39
 Garland 108
 Gauḍik silver 95
 Gems 5, 92
 Ghāgharā 53
 Girdle 131
 Glass 101
 Goad 85
 Gold 5, 101
 Gomedaka 99
 Gomedakaḥ 99
 Gomutraka 99
 Gomutrikā 30
 Goṇaka 20
 Graiveyaka 106
 Greek 1, 2
 Guchcha 104
 Guṇa 97

 Hair-pin 111
 Haimavata 91
 Hand Ornament 107
 Hāra 106
 Haridra 27

 Harshacharita 4
 Hastiśaundika 34
 Haṭaka 94
 Hathigumphā 8
 Hatthābharāṇa 107
 Hattha-Phaṇka 62
 Hatthatthara 20
 Head-gear 67, 71
 Head-Ornament 110, 116
 Hrādiya 91

 Import 99, 101
 India 1
 Indrachchandra 104
 Indranīla, gem 92
 Inscriptions 7
 Ivory 101

 Jaggayyapeṭa stupa 42, 54, 82
 Jāmbūnada 94
 Jaṭā 62
 Jaṭābhāra 61, 66, 68, 78
 Jātaka 7
 Jaṭa juṭū 66, 68, 78
 Jhumakhā 106, 119
 Jinakalpadhārī 34

 Kabaribandha 66
 Kacha 62, 101
 Kaḍā 107, 108
 Kadali 18
 Kākanī 98
 Kākapaksha 66
 Kākshā 107
 Kākshgādhika-Kshiptapallava 40
 Kākshyabandhan 42
 Kalambak 26
 Kalāvuka 35
 Kālikā 18
 Kalinga 1, 12
 Kalpaka 63

 Kamarbandha 34, 37, 42, 56
 Kamboja 1, 23

Kambu 73
 Kāmbuka 95
 Kanakadorā 107
 Kanaka-Kuṇḍala 106
 Kañchana 97
 Kañchuka 29, 30
 Kañchukī 35
 Kañchī 107
 Kangan 107
 Kanṭhā 106, 122, 123
 Kanṭha-bhūshā 106
 Kanṭhi 106
 Kāntānavaka 18
 Kappāsarakkhikā 12
 Kārdama 27
 Kārdamika 27, 91
 Karṇa-phula 106, 119
 Karṇa-veshṭana 105, 118
 Karṇikā 105
 Kārpāsa 11
 Kārpāsaka 12
 Kārpāsikā 12
 Kāśī 12
 Kāśikā 21
 Kaśikākār 28
 Kāśmaka 93
 Kaṭaka 115
 Katavānaka 16
 Kathamitika 15
 Kaṭhina 26
 Katikra 107
 Kaṭi-sutra 107
 Katyāyana 6
 Kauchapaka 15
 Kauleya 91
 Kauśambī 1, 61, 82, 86
 Kauśeya 13, 14
 Kauṭilya 2, 6, 36, 98
 Kayura 106
 Keśa 62
 Keśaka 62

Keśa-kambala 19
 Keśakambali 34
 Keśapāsa 66, 88
 Keśavithi 87
 Khachīta 15
 Khallakabaddha 32
 Khaṇḍasangātya 15
 Khapusā 50
 Kharmukh Yaksha 40
 Khuram 63
 Kilt 61
 Kirīṭa 75, 105
 Kiṭaja 13
 Koccha (comb) 62
 Kojava 20
 Kopīna 33
 Kośad-dhana 14
 Koseyya 20
 Koṭumbara 17
 Krimi-kośa 14
 Kshauma 12
 Kshepaṇa 97
 Kshudra 97
 Kubera 39, 42, 74
 Kulāh-cap 68, 75
 Kulamitika 15
 Kullu 43
 Kumbha 62, 89
 Kuṇḍala 105
 Kuntala 62
 Kūrpāsaka 30, 47, 48, 53
 Kuṇṇira 62
 Kuśa-Chīra 19
 Kutapa 17
 Kuttaka 20
 Kuṭṭi kṛitam 23
 Lalāntika 106
 Lalāṭajuṭaka 78
 Lalāṭikā 110, 117
 Lalitvistara 27
 Lāmakakomma 25

Lambahāra 122
 Lambanam 106
 Lambarā 16
 Lapetuan aṅgada
 Lapis-Lazuli 100
 Laundering 28
 Lauriya-Nandangarh 110
 Leg Ornament 108
 Likucha 14
 Lohitaka 92
 Luṅgi 41

 Maddavīna 35
 Madhya desā 1
 Madhyamarāshtraka 93
 Magadha 1, 22
 Māgadhika 22
 Mahābhārata 12
 Mahābhāshya 6
 Mahābisī 18
 Mahājanapadas 1
 Mahā-hāra 106
 Mahāsthan 9
 Mahā-vagga 12
 Māhendra 91
 Mauleyaka 92
 Māṇavaka 104
 Mangalanahāpita 63, 69
 Maṇi 101
 Manikāra 96
 Maṇimekhalā 108
 Maṇimāntaka 96
 Manināmedhakaḥ 93
 Mañjirā 108
 Manu-smṛiti 6
 Mathura 4, 8
 Matsyavālak 34
 Maulibandha 66
 Maya Devi 55
 Megasthenese 7
 Mehrauli Yakshi 59, 90

Mekhalā 107
 Milinda Pañha 7
 Moghasuttaka 25
 Mrishṭa-Kuṇḍala 105
 Muddikā 107
 Mukuṭa 67
 Mūleya 92
 Muṇḍa 62
 Muṇḍamālā 117
 Mutt-jāla 118
 Muraja 35
 Muslin 22
 Nalatula 19
 Nāga-Vriksha 14
 Nakshatramālā 104
 Nandipad symbol 125
 Nandakas gem 92
 Namadā 23
 Namataka 20
 Nāṭya-Śāstra 104
 Necklaces 123, 124
 Neck Ornament 106, 112
 Nepal 15
 Nishka 107
 Nistapati 97
 Nisṭapaṭi 97
 Nishpravaṇi 25
 Nivi 29
 Nupūra 108

 Ōḍasa 63
 Onyx 100
 Opaśa 62
 Oḍhanī 31
 Osaṇheti 62
 Ovahika 107

 Pāḍukā 31
 Paintings 9
 Pāli-Tripitaka 7
 Palikā 20
 Palwal Yaksha 38, 68
 Pāmaṅga 106

Paṇḍukambala 14, 16, 31
 Pāṇinī 5
 Paṇyakambala 16
 Parakham Yaksha 37, 113
 Paridhānam 28
 Parikar 42
 Paristome 15
 Pāṣikya 91
 Paṭakā 30, 35
 Paṭalikā 20
 Paṭaliputra 1, 4, 103
 Patañjali 6, 62
 Patna Yaksha 37, 38, 113
 Paṭolaka 13, 27
 Patra kuṇḍala 106, 120
 Paunī 40
 Pearls 5, 91, 100
 Pearl necklace 113
 Peband 25
 Pesakārasippa 26
 Phālipaṭa 40
 Phalaka-hāra 104, 106, 113, 121
 Phaṇaka 62
 Phenṭa 42
 Pichchhila 15
 Pidalaka 26
 Pitalkhora 9, 57, 118
 Pitamaṇih 101
 Polinious 7
 Prāyaka 18
 Prakāṇḍaka 104
 Prākāravapra kuṇḍala 112, 120
 Prāvāla 100
 Prāvāra 11, 29, 30
 Prāvāraka 16, 30
 Pravaṇī 25
 Praveṇī 65, 89
 Prishita 98
 Prityāstarāṇa 33
 Puḍigunthima 32
 Pulāsti 62

Puṇḍra 21
 Pushyamitra 2, 3
 Puṭabandha 32
 Rājsūya 23
 Rajata 101
 Rajghaṭa 4, 85
 Ramāyaṇa 12, 105
 Rañjaka 27
 Rāṅkava 17
 Rāśanā 107
 Ratnavali 104
 Ratna valaya
 Ṛig Veda 62
 Riṭhā 28
 Rosettes 85, 86
 Rosettes necklace 113
 Sabhāparva 23
 Sabhārashtaka 93
 Sajjikhāra 28
 Sakachcha style of dhoti
 Śakala 27
 Śakalika 27
 Sakkari 107
 Śākula 19
 Salākā 26
 Sāmantabhadra 15
 Sampuṭikā 16-36
 Śāmuli 19
 Śāmura 19
 Saṁvyānam 29
 Sana 33
 Sāñchī 8
 Saṅghāṭī 33, 42
 Sāṅkala 108
 Santānaka mekhalā 114
 Sapatre-keyura 127
 Saphira 100
 Saptakī 107
 Sarāsanā 107
 Sārī 51, 52, 54
 Sarp-kuṇḍal 121

Sasyaka 92, 93
 Śāṭaka 21, 28, 61
 Śatavallika 35
 Śātakumbha gold 94
 Satina 19
 Satthaka 25
 Sattalikā 16
 Saugandhika gem 92
 Saumitika 15
 Shahbāzgarhi 1
 Shoes 31, 49
 Śikhā 62
 Śikhā-bhandham 62
 Śikhaṇḍa 62, 66, 78, 88
 Śikhaṇḍa bharan 105
 Silver 5
 Siman 62
 Sīmant 63
 Śīmantchumbī-chaṭulātilaka 105
 Siroruha 62
 Sirshaka 104
 Sitthatelaka 63
 Siveyyaka dussa 14
 Skirt 42, 53, 57
 Snāpaka 63
 Sobhana 25
 Sopānaka 104
 Sravasti 118
 Śrikaṭanaka 93
 Śrīṅgasuktija gold
 Śrīvatsa 86, 124
 Sūchī 25
 Suchī-nalikā 25
 Sukra 125
 Sutta-Piṭaka 7
 Suvarṇakāra 95
 Suvarṇagiri 1
 Svadaṁshtra 106
 Svasthān type 41
 Sveta-tara 98
 Svetalohitakam 98
 Syamikā 18

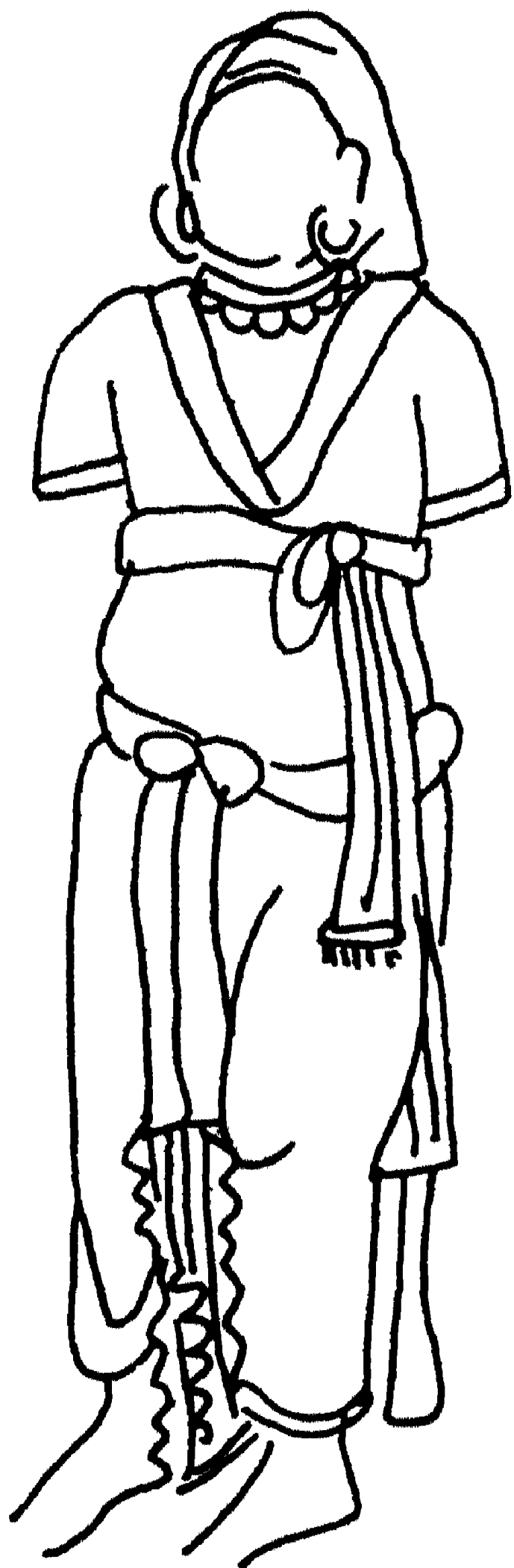
Tahaband 20
 Tahamad 41, 48
 Talavṛintaka 35
 Talichchhaka 15
 Tamluka 9, 85, 103
 Tamra 101
 Tamraparṇika 91
 Tantra 25
 Tantraka 25
 Tantuvichchhina 15
 Tantuvāya 25
 Tapanīya 98
 Tapasvini 88
 Taralapratibandha 104
 Tāṭanka-Chakra 106, 120
 Taṭṭi 25
 Taxilā 9, 103, 125
 Terracotta 3, 60
 Thimble 25
 Tiara 67
 Tikali 118
 Tikshṇa 98
 Topāz 101
 Tortoise shaped 91
 Tortoise Shell 102
 Torque 123
 Touch-stone 95
 Triratna-symbol 124
 Triratna torque 113
 Tri-Śikhaṇḍa 76
 Triśula 84
 Tryamśuka 13
 Tulikā 20
 Turagāstarāṇa 15
 Turban 84
 Tvashṭri 98
 Ubhatovantaka 108
 Udaigiri 9
 Udakatelaka 63
 Uddalomī 20
 Ujjain 1
 Upānah 32

- Upanīvi 29
 Upasaṁvyāna 28
 Upaṣirshaka 104
 Upavīta 126
 Ushṇīsha 31, 69
 Ushṇīsha-paṭṭa 75
 Utapala-mālā-bhārīni 108
 Uttapati 97
 Uttarāsaṅga 29, 33
 Uttariya 28, 38

 Vāhītika 14, 20
 Vaidurya gem 92
 Vaikakshyaka 33, 44, 126
 Vainava gold 94
 Vaiśalī 9
 Vaivarnaka coral 94
 Vālhika 23
 Vallikā 106
 Vānchitra 15
 Vaṅga 20, 22
 Vaṅgaka 22
 Vārabāṇa 15, 30, 36
 Varānaseyaka 21
 Varṇaka 15
 Vartika 6
 Vasana 11

 Vāsas 11
 Vastrayugika 28
 Vastrayuga 28
 Valkal 41
 Vaṭa 91
 Veil 82
 Vemaka 25
 Veṇī 65, 89
 Veshṭanī 31
 Veshtanapaṭṭa 67
 Vihāras 9
 Vidiśa 2
 Vikachchha style of dhoti
 Vikaṭika 20
 Vinaya-Pitak 7, 108
 Virāṭa-Parva 64
 Vishnu Gupta 6
 Vrittapuchchha 19
 Vyamisravana 13
 Waist ornament 107, 114, 130
 Weighing balance 97
 Wristlet 128

 Yamaka 91
 Yasṭi 103, 104
 Yogapaṭṭa 41
 Zig-zag 56, 57
-



1



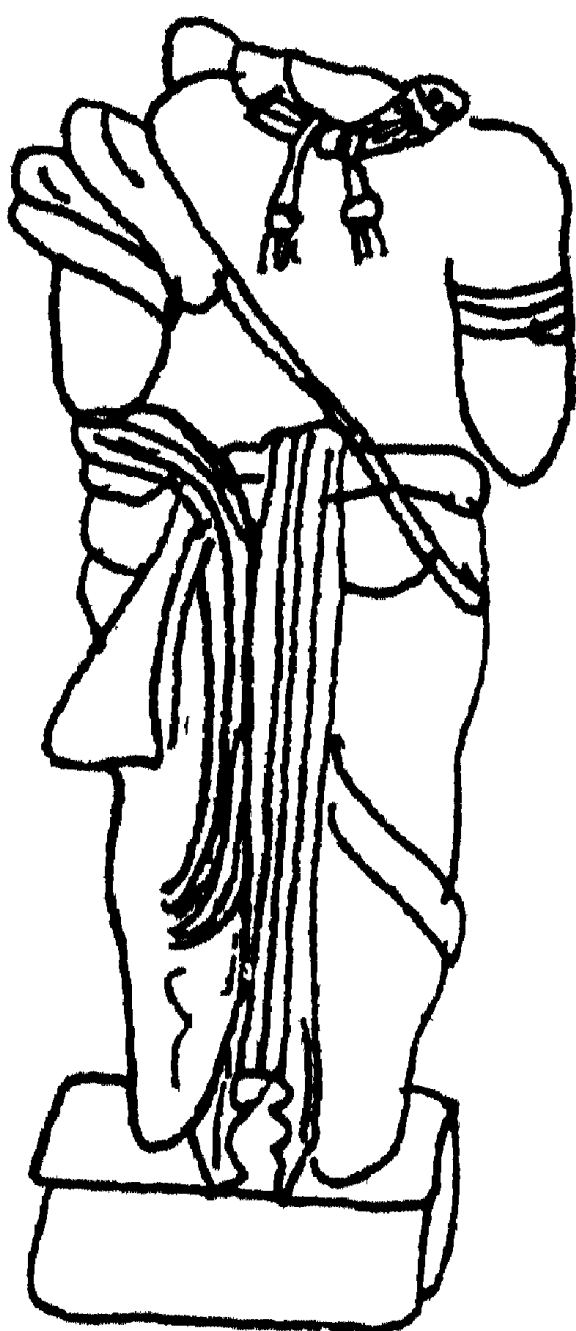
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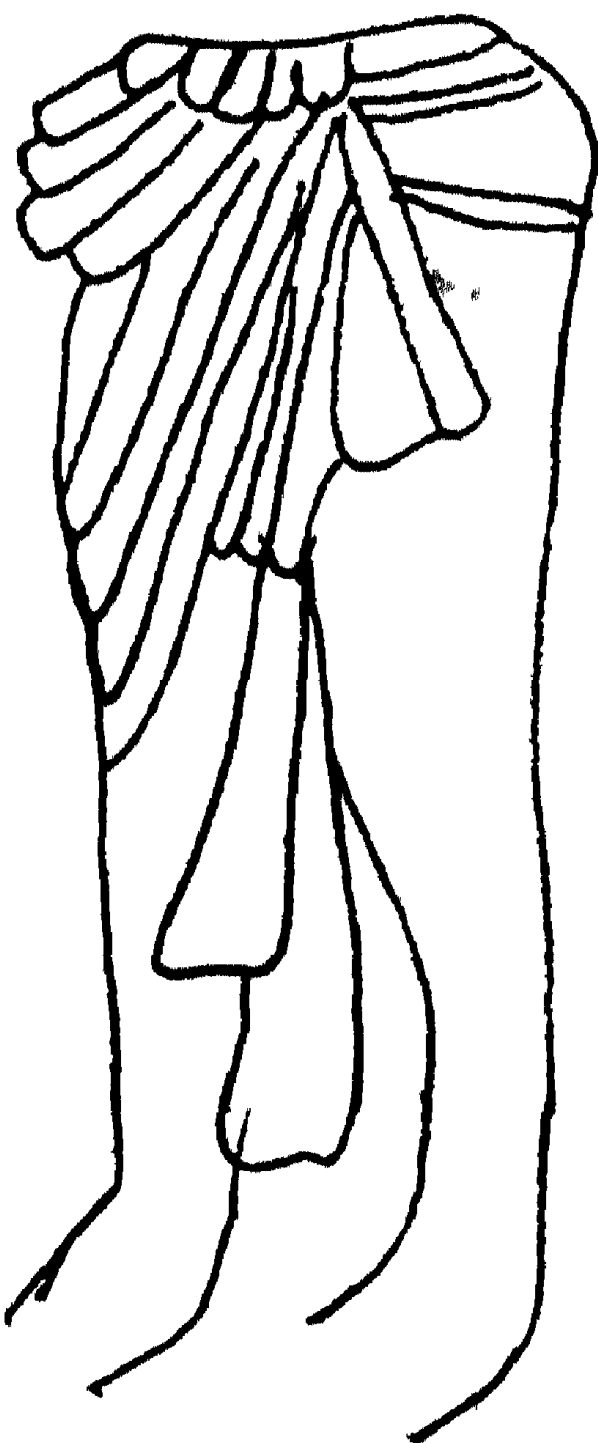
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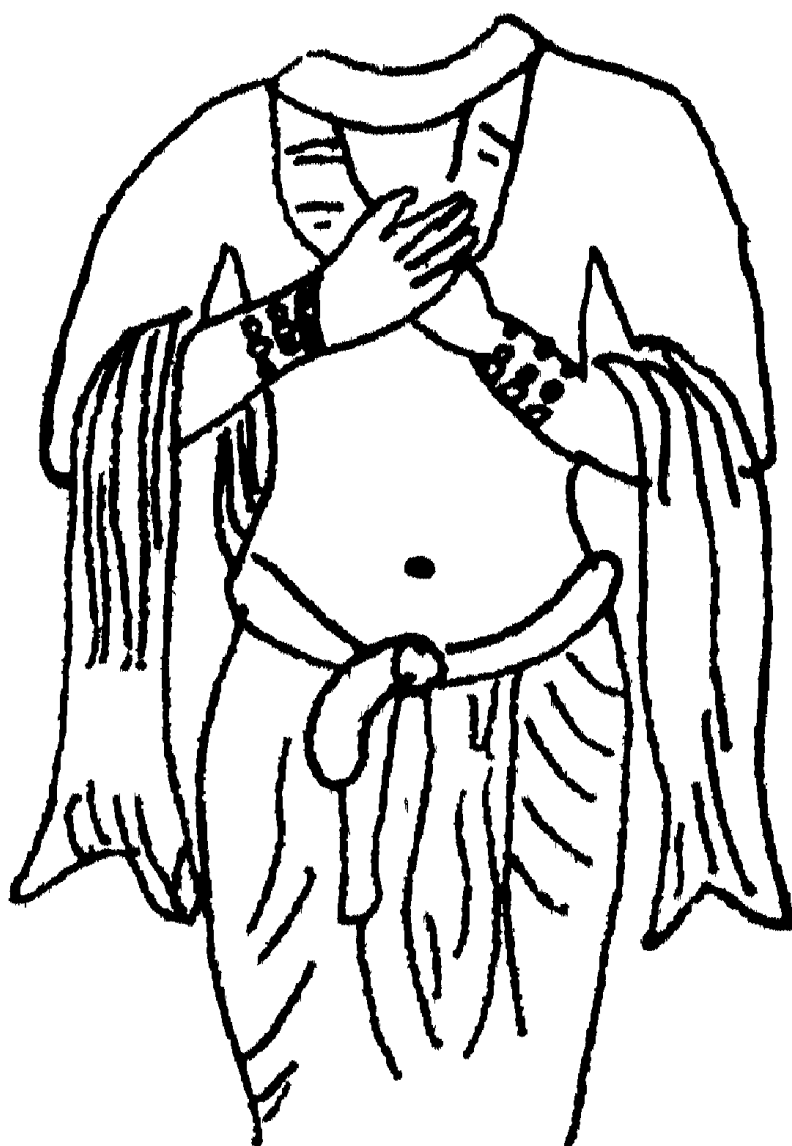
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8



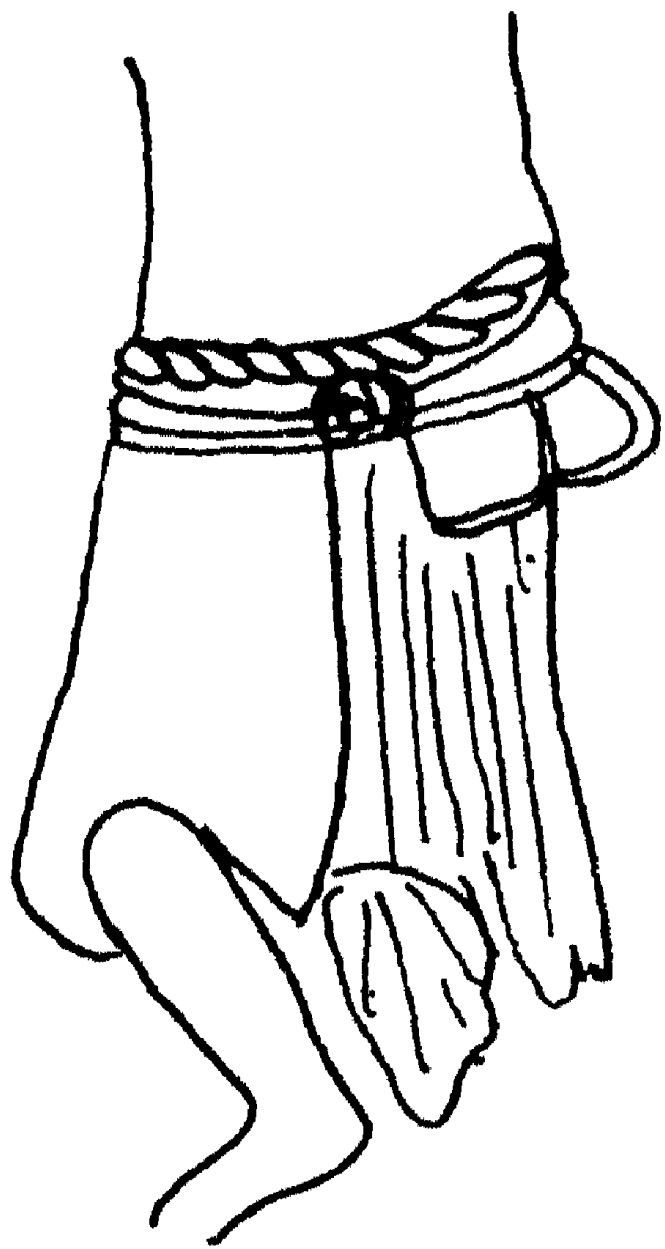
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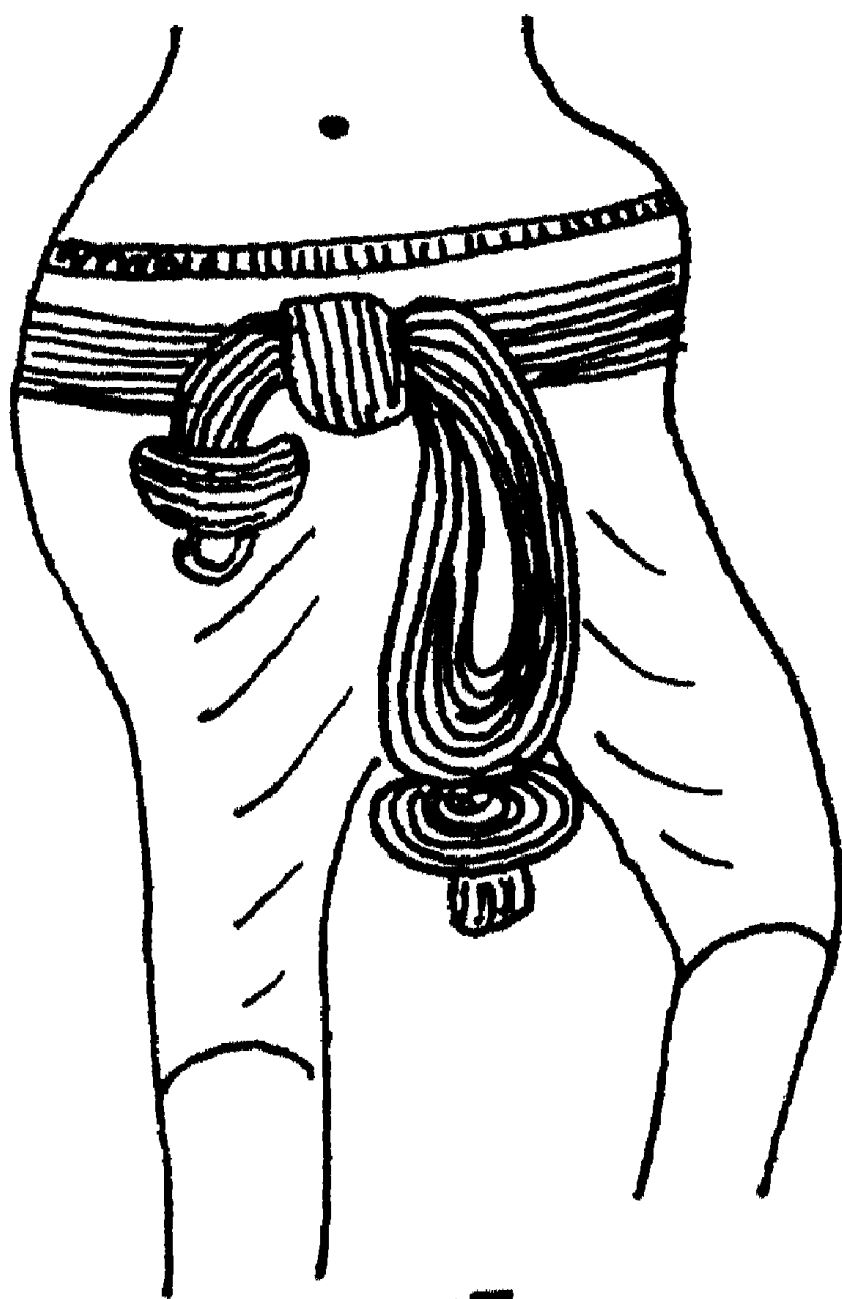
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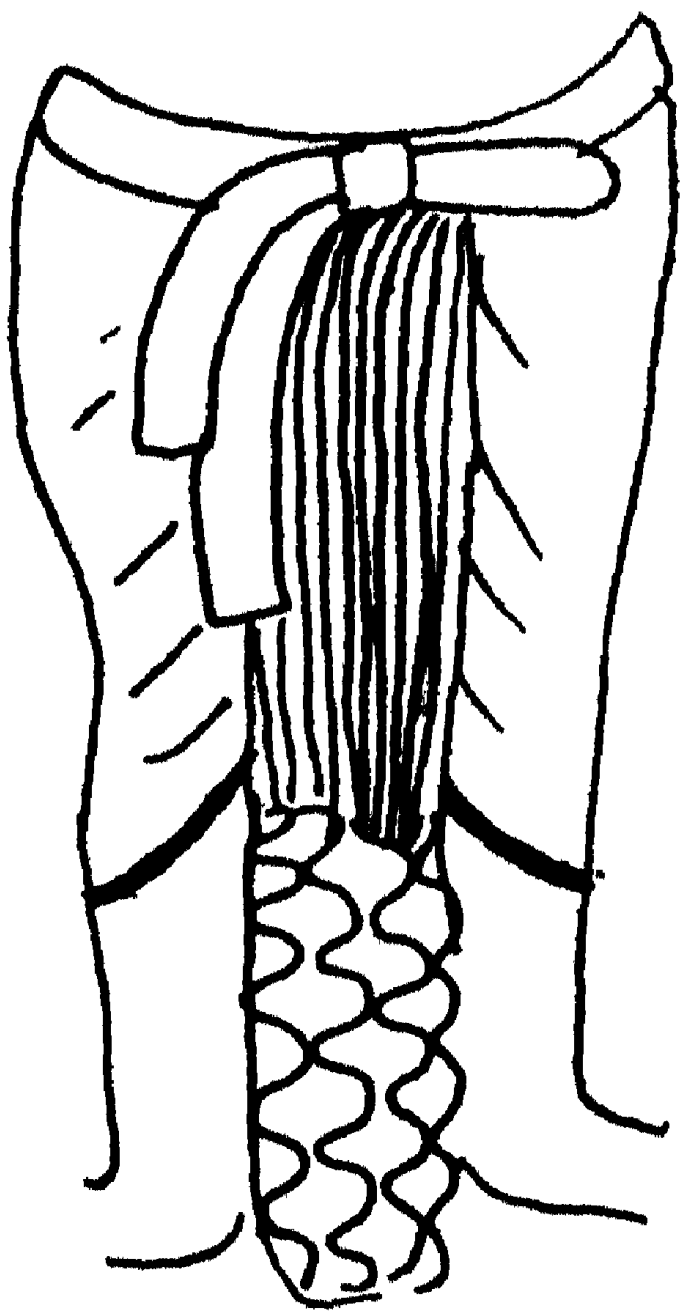
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12



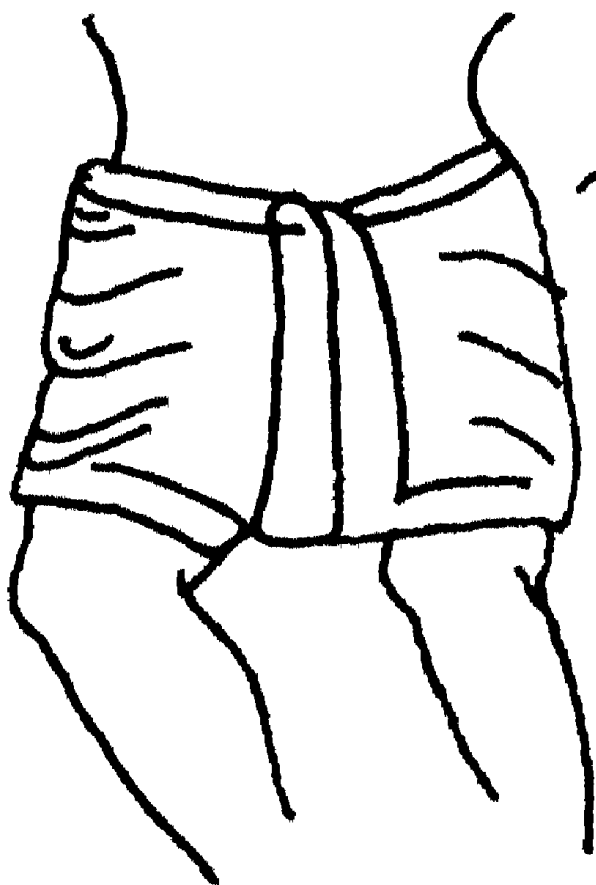
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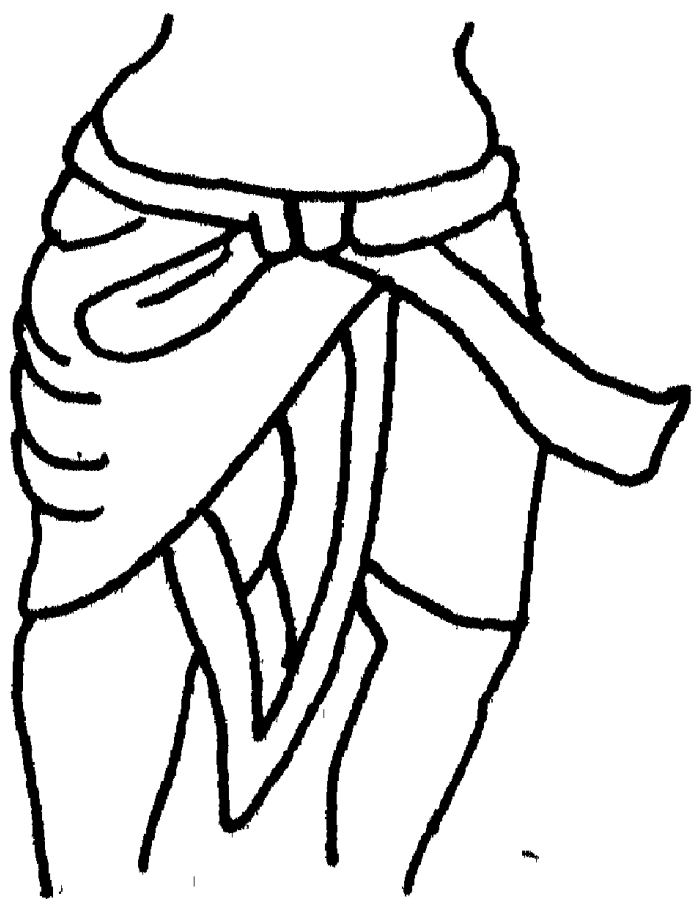
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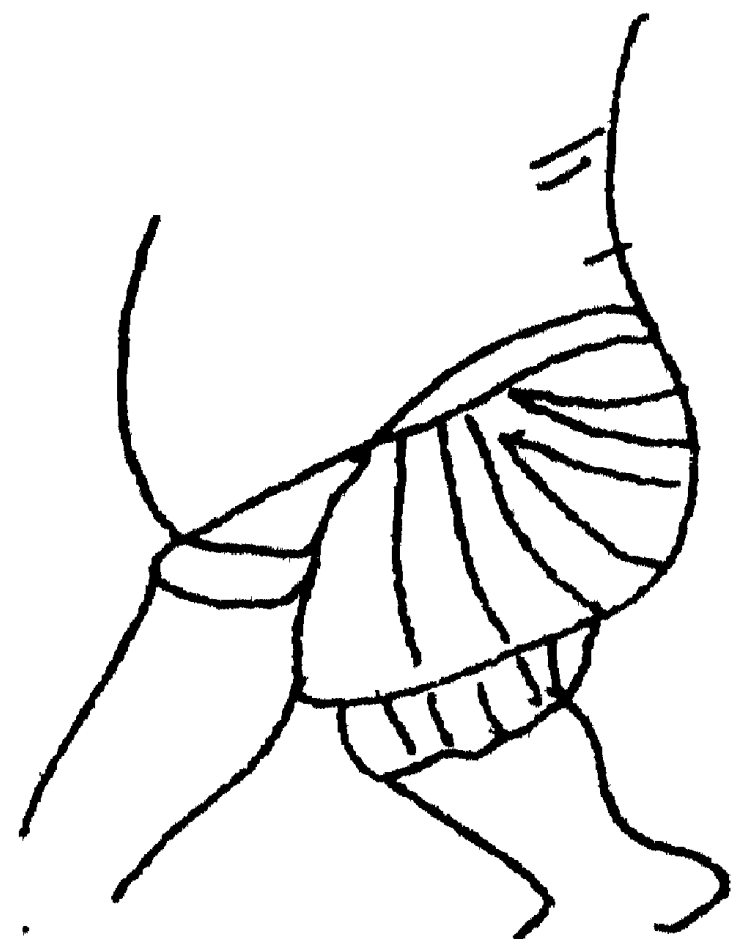
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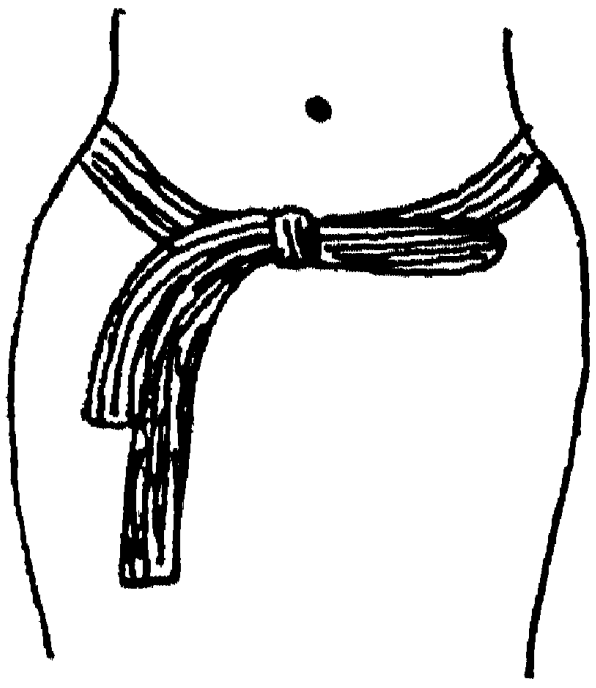
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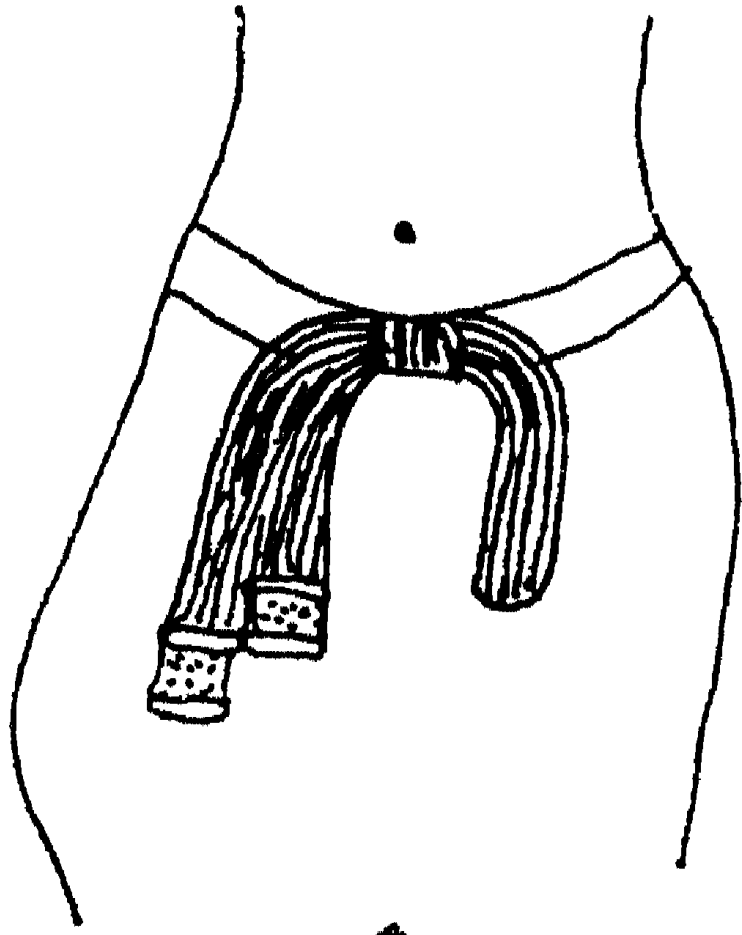
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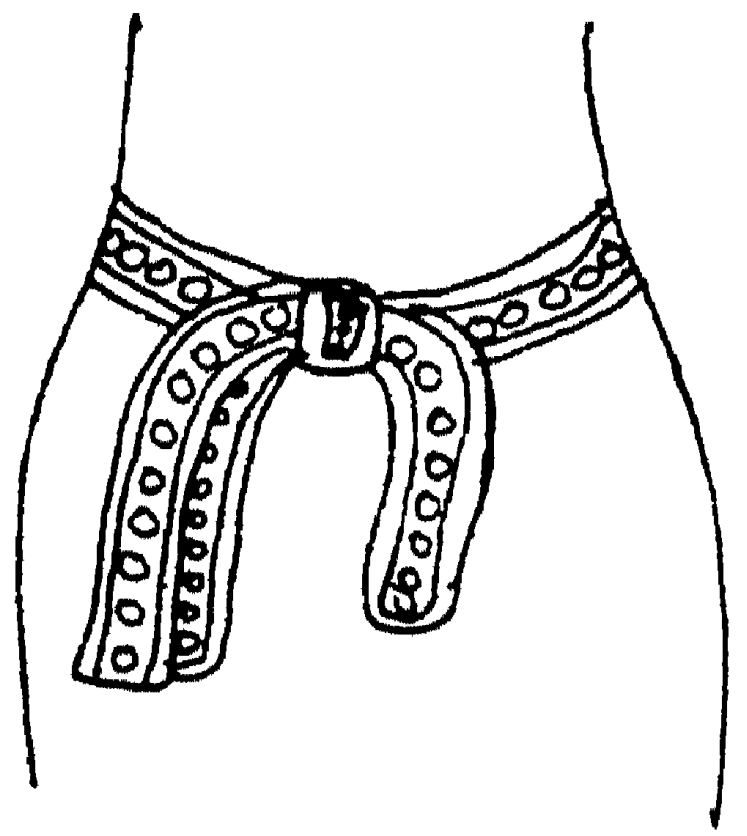
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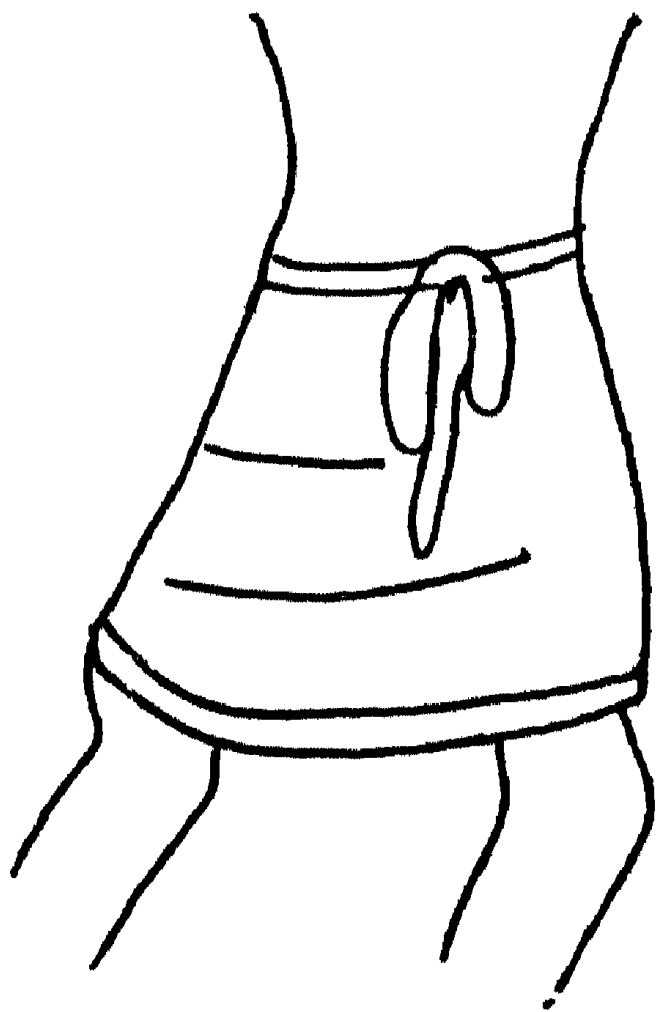
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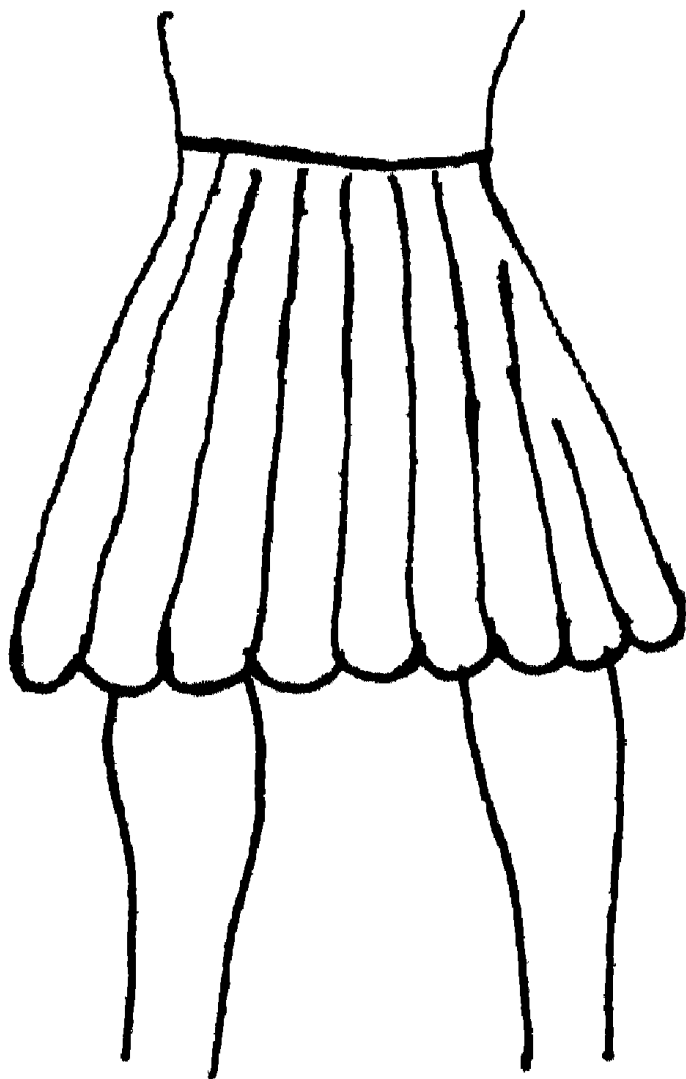
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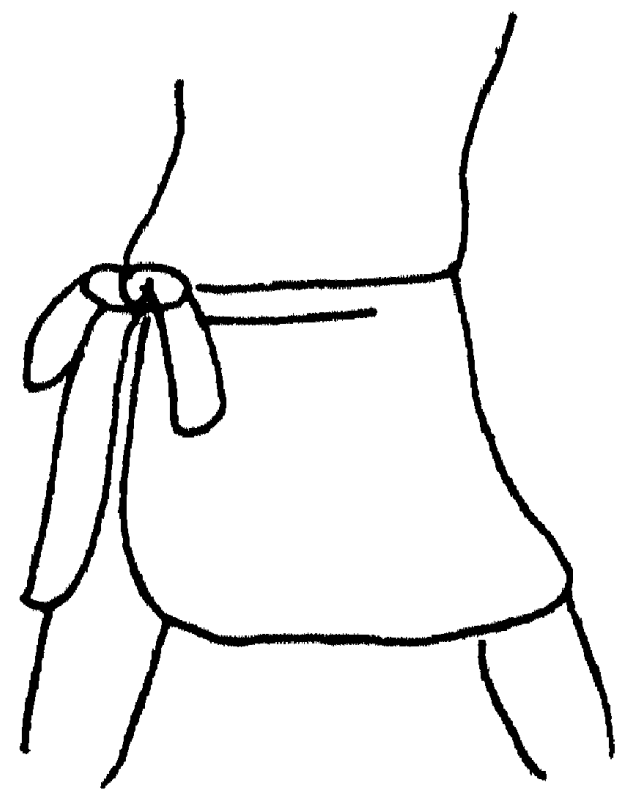
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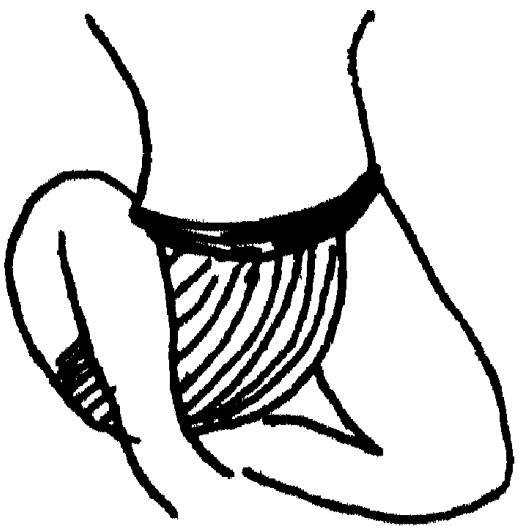
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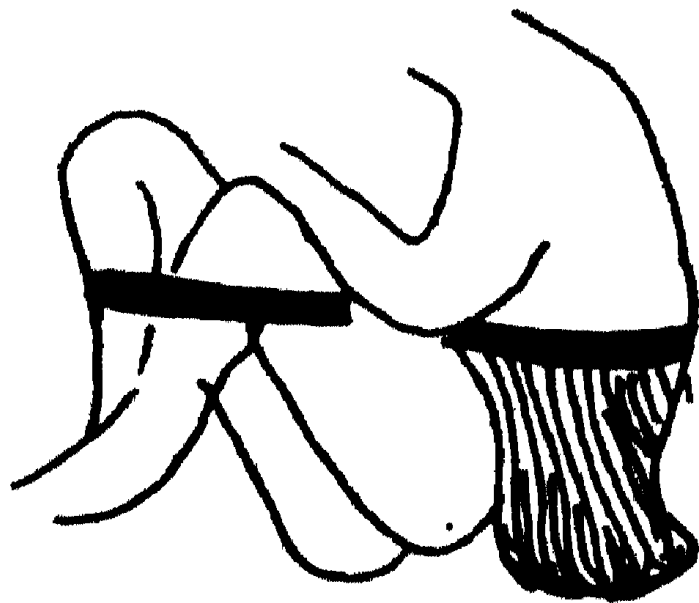
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24



25



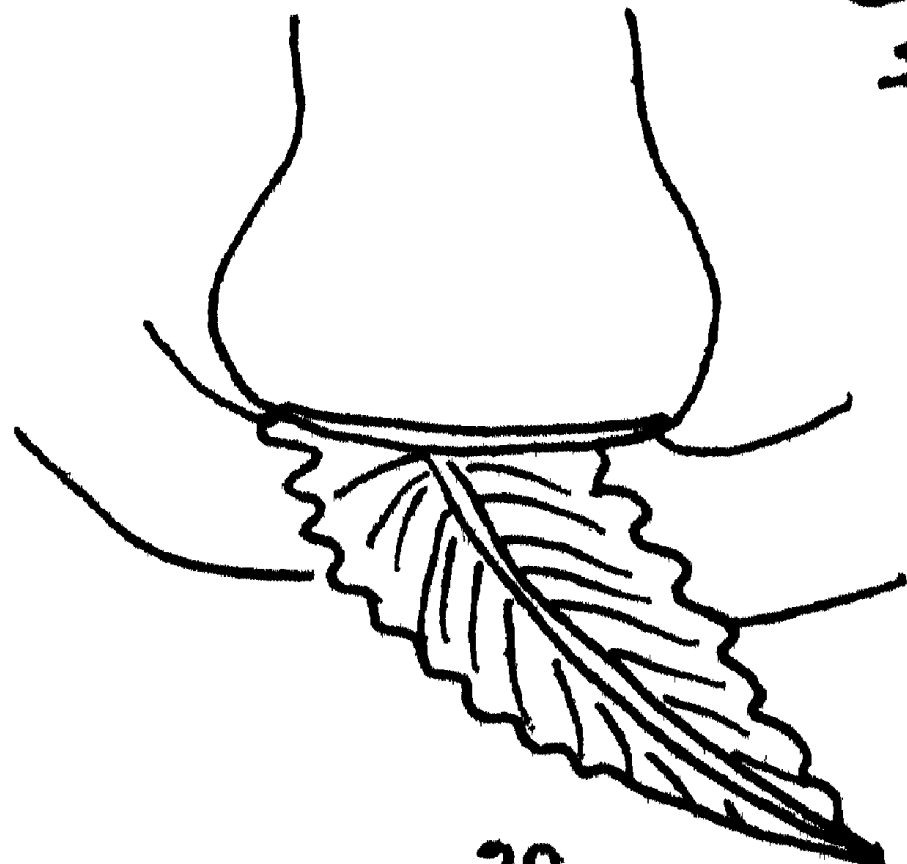
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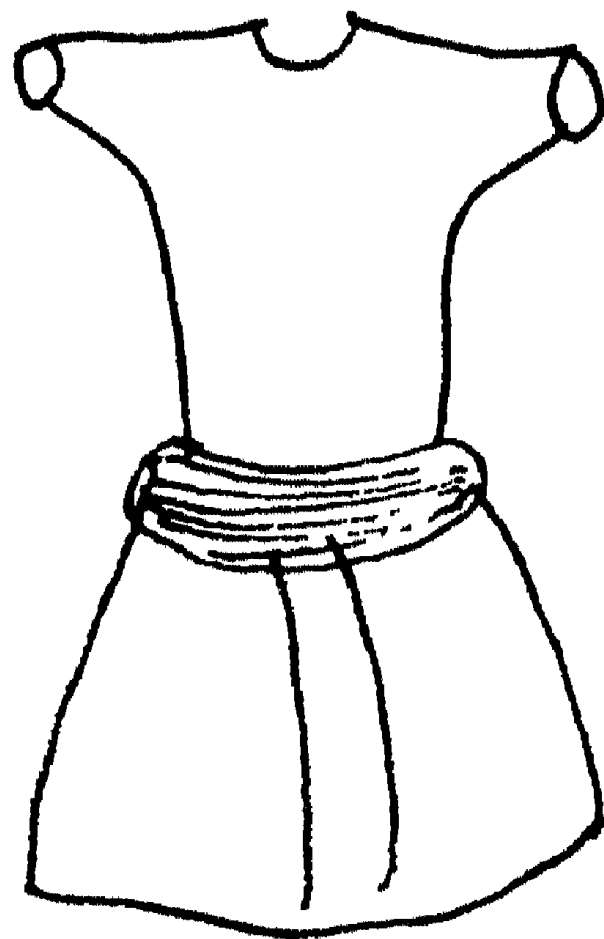
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37



38



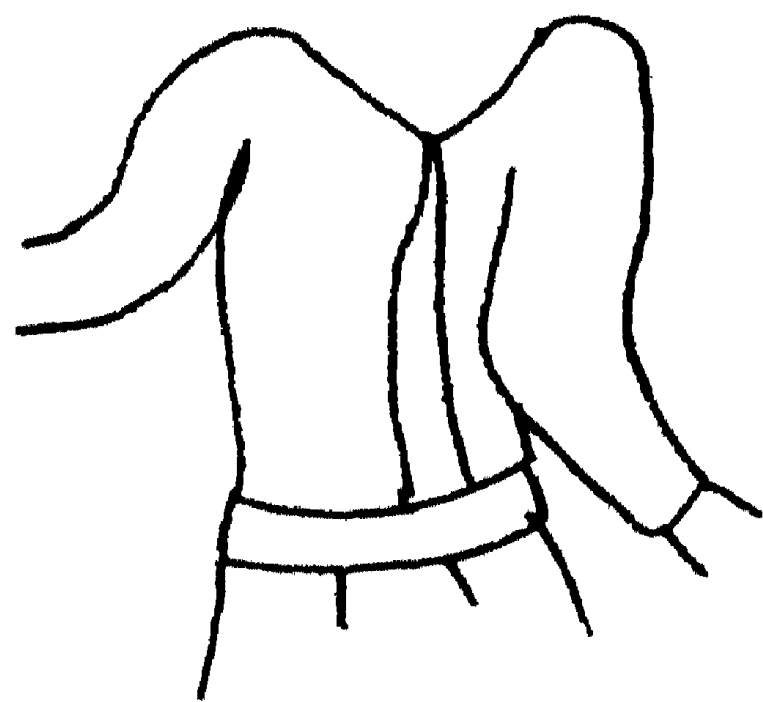
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40



41



42



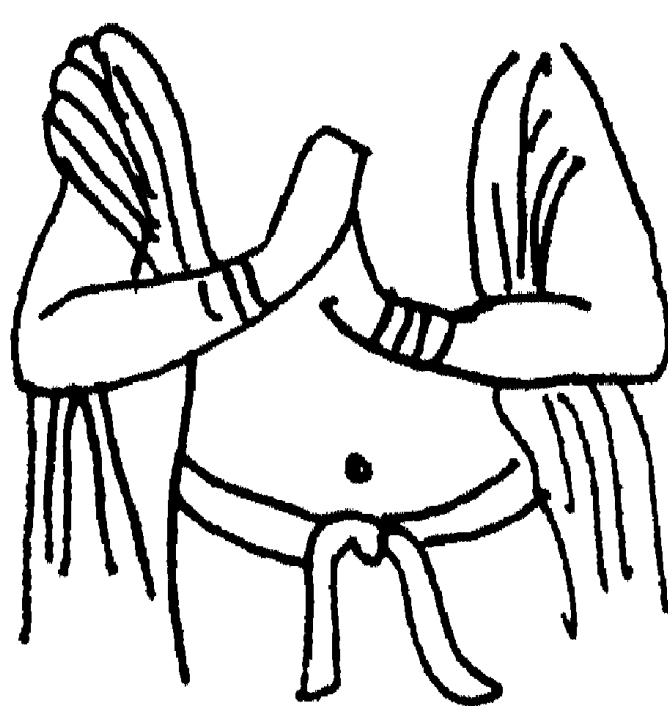
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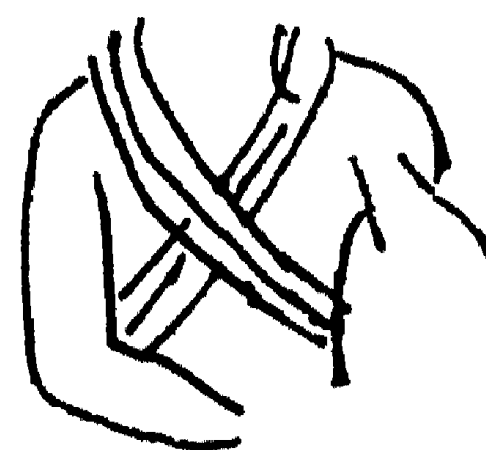
44



45



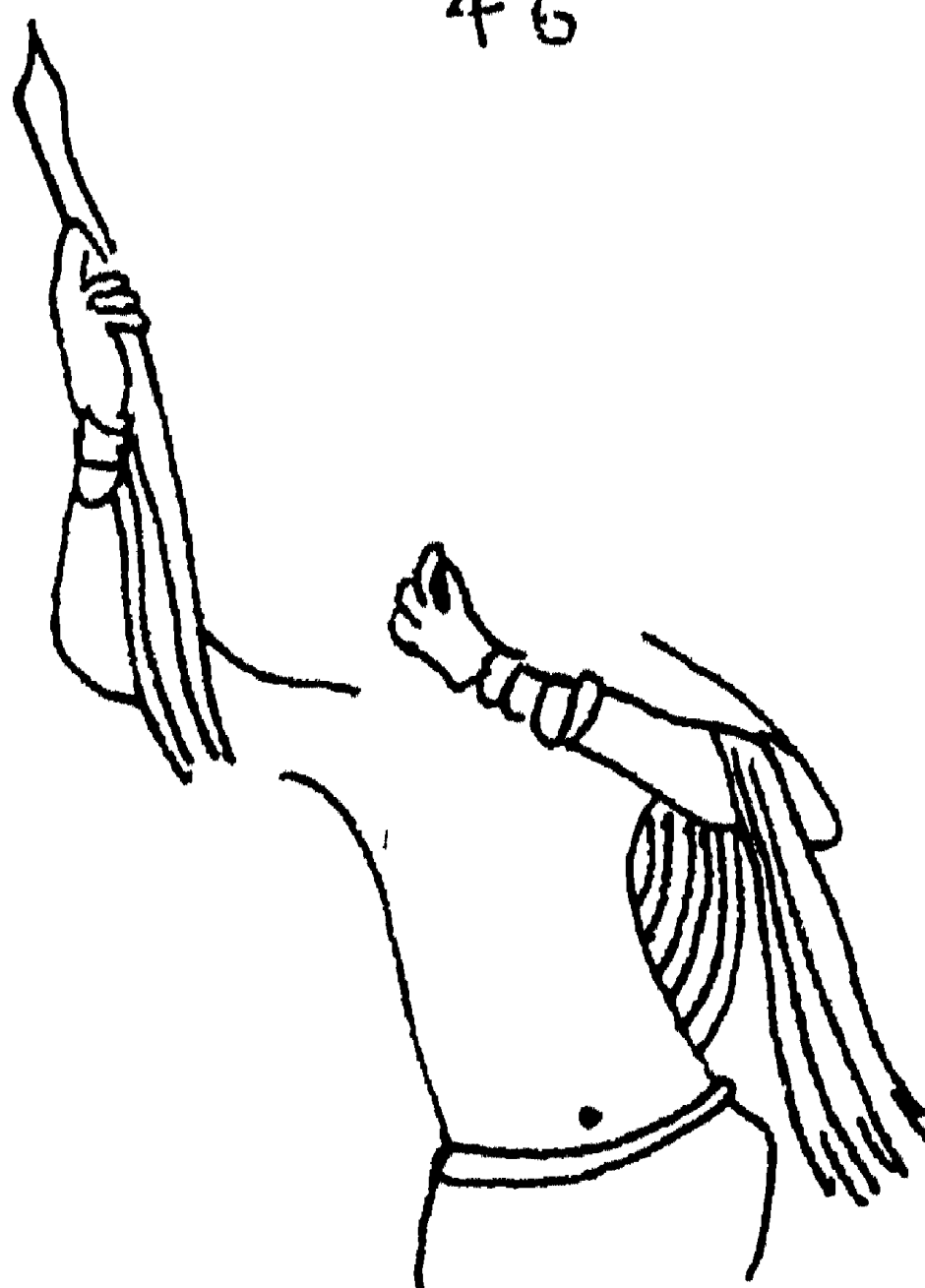
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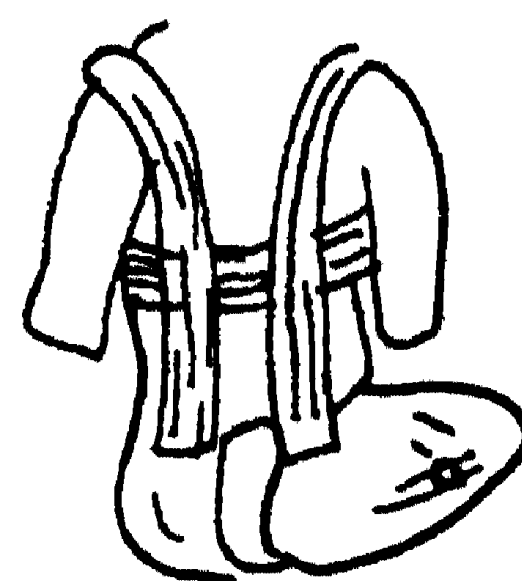
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48



49



50



51



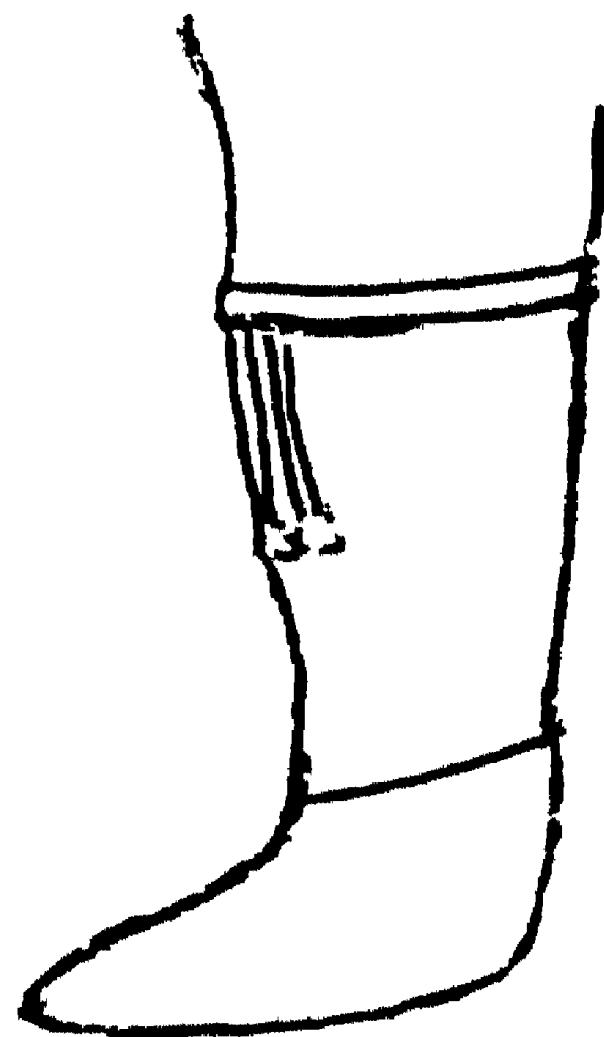
52



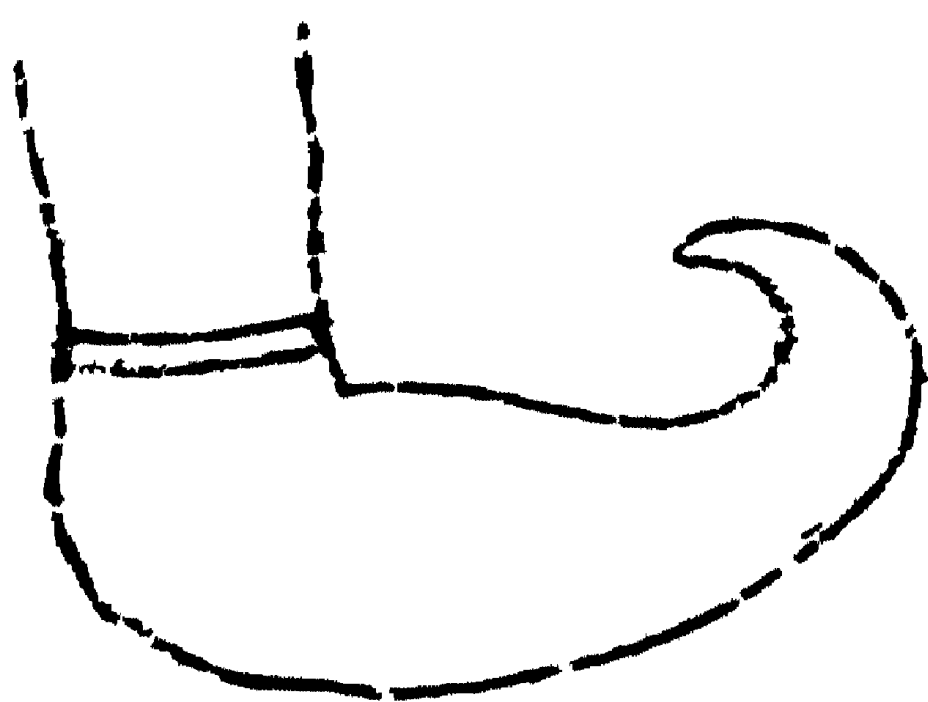
53



54



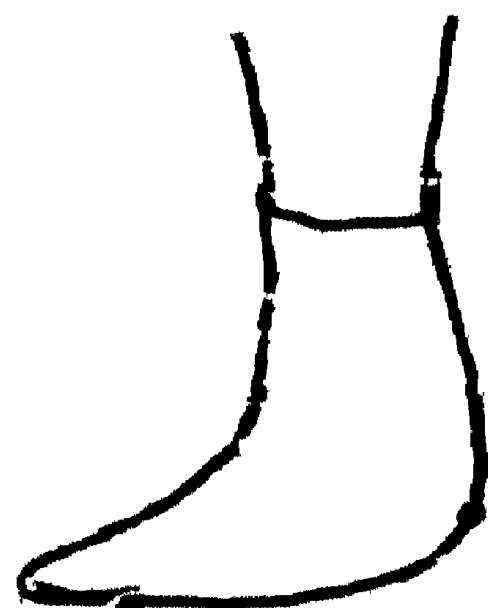
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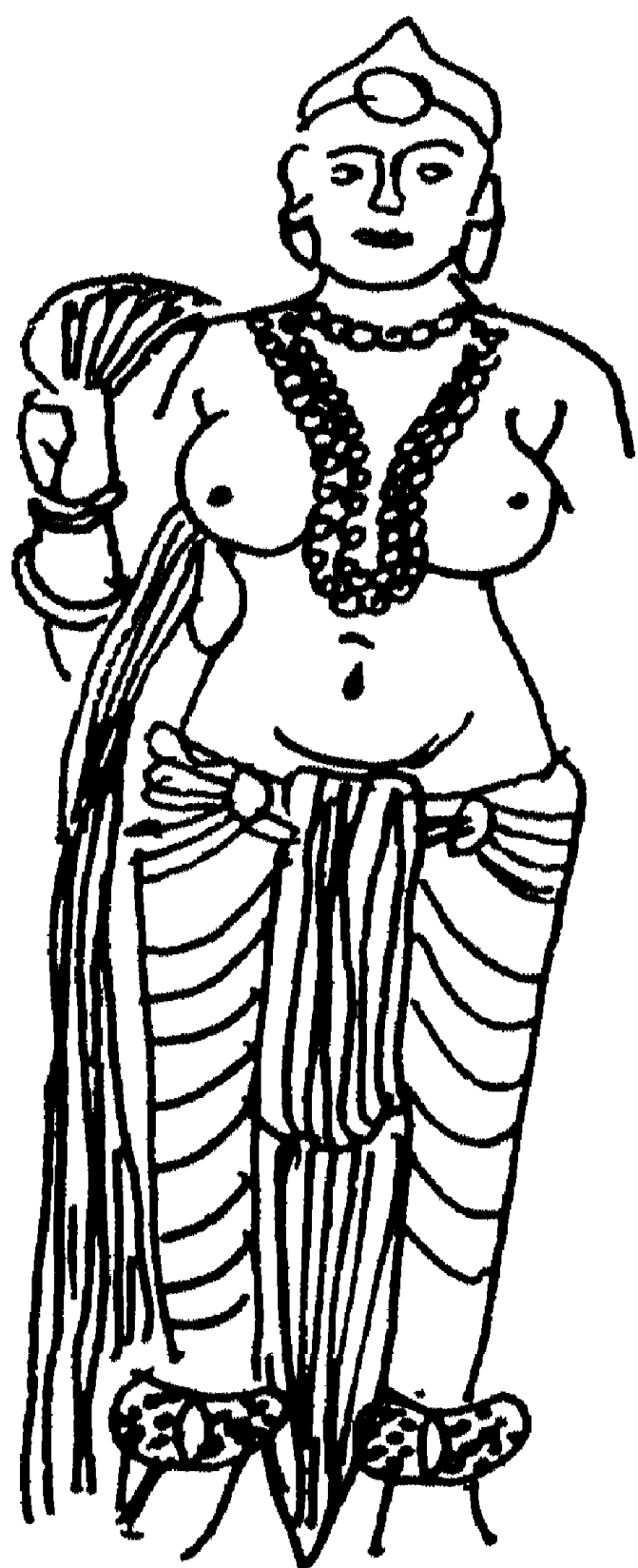
56



57



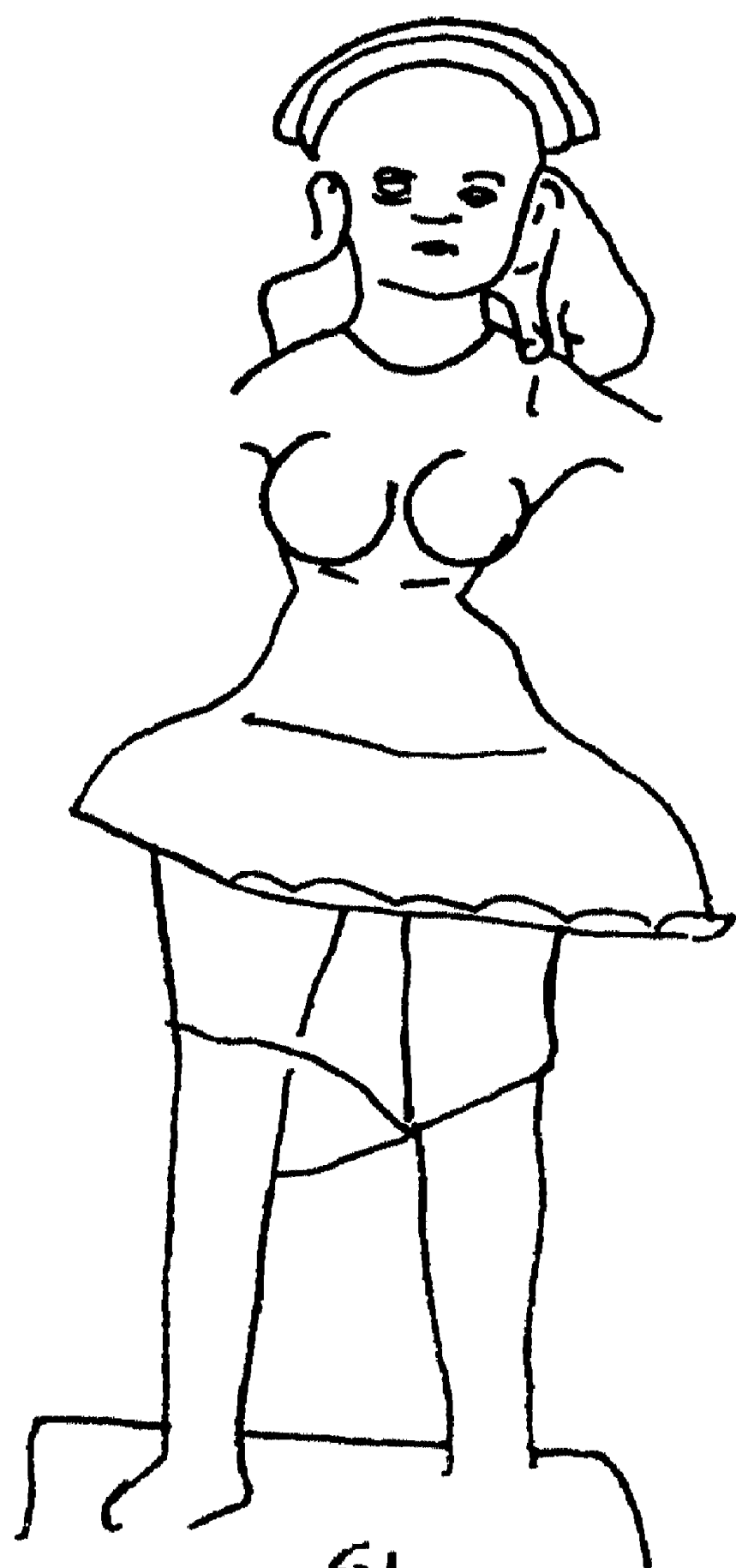
58



59



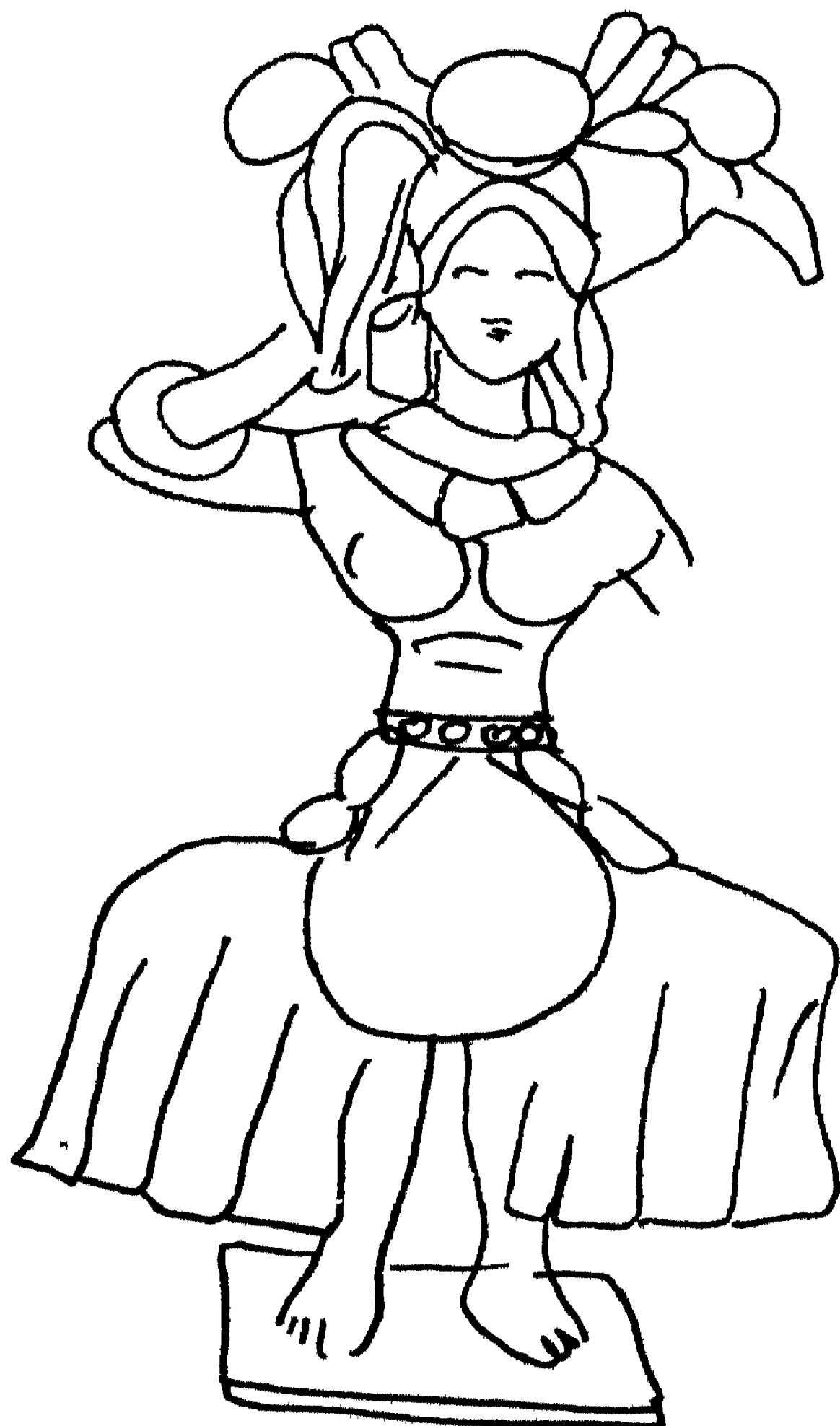
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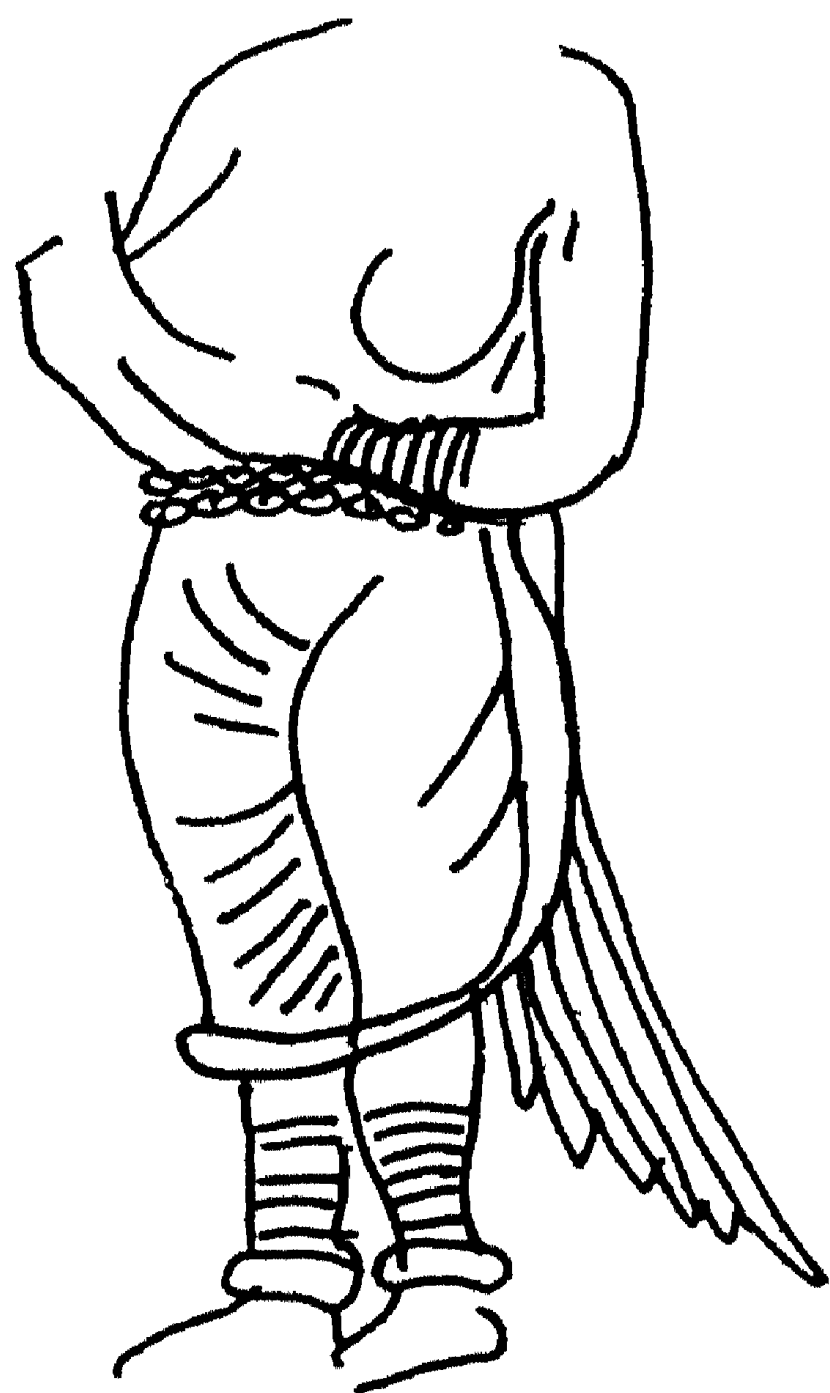
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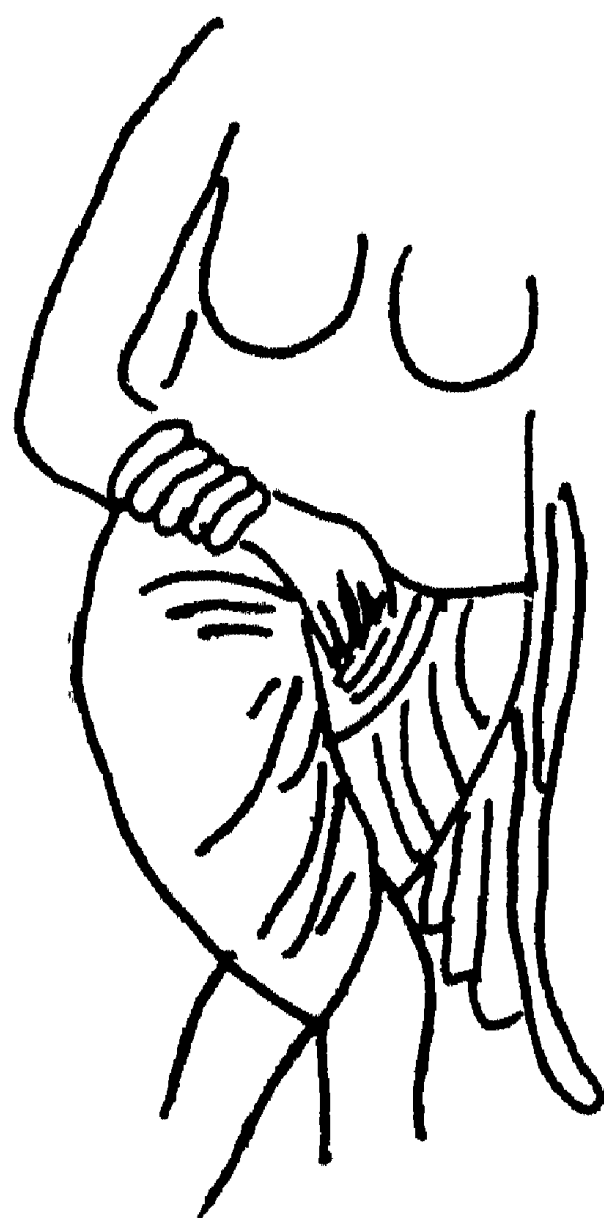
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63



69



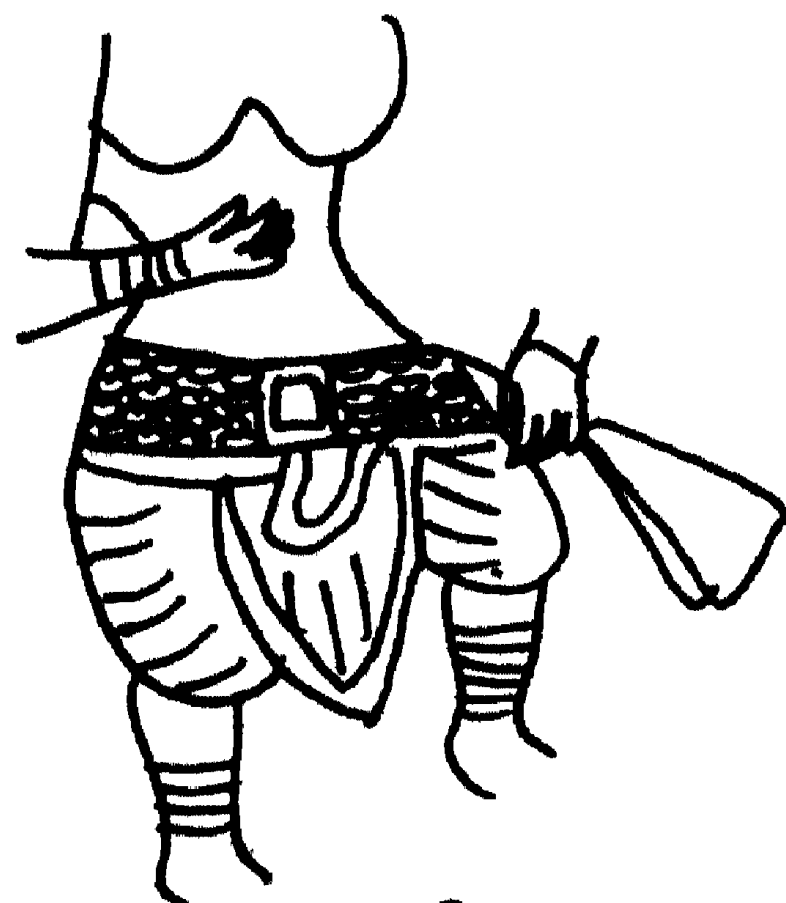
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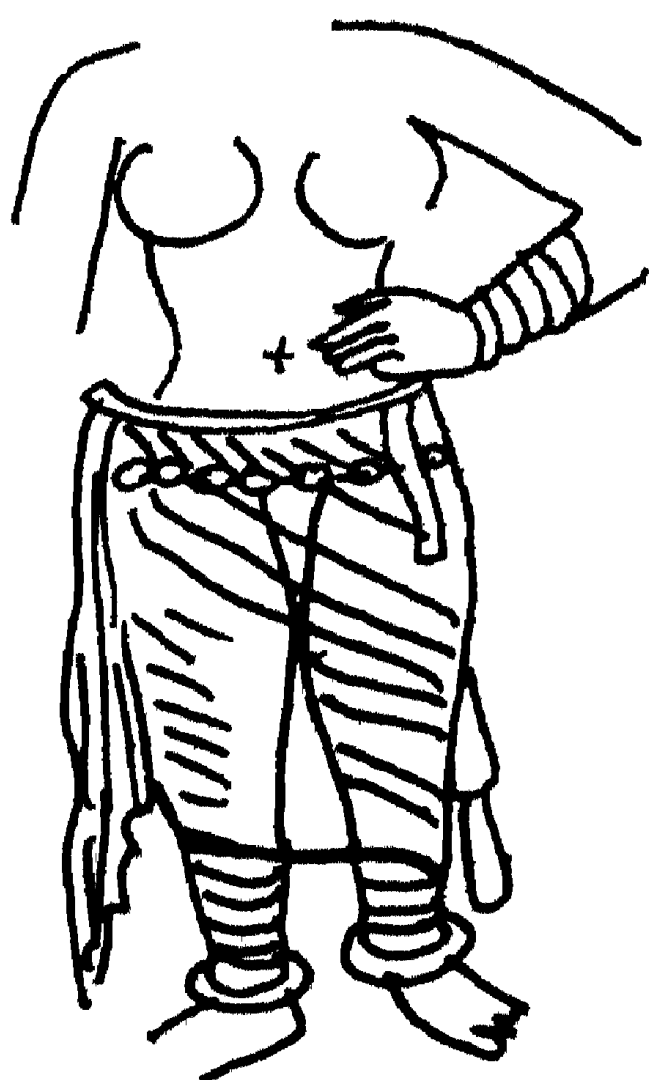
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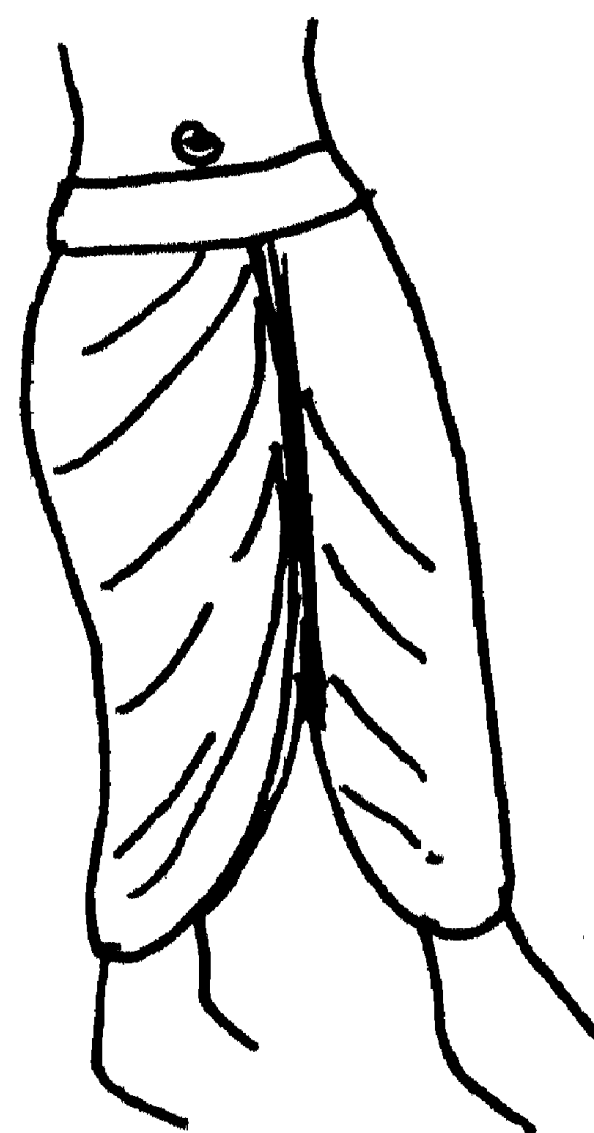
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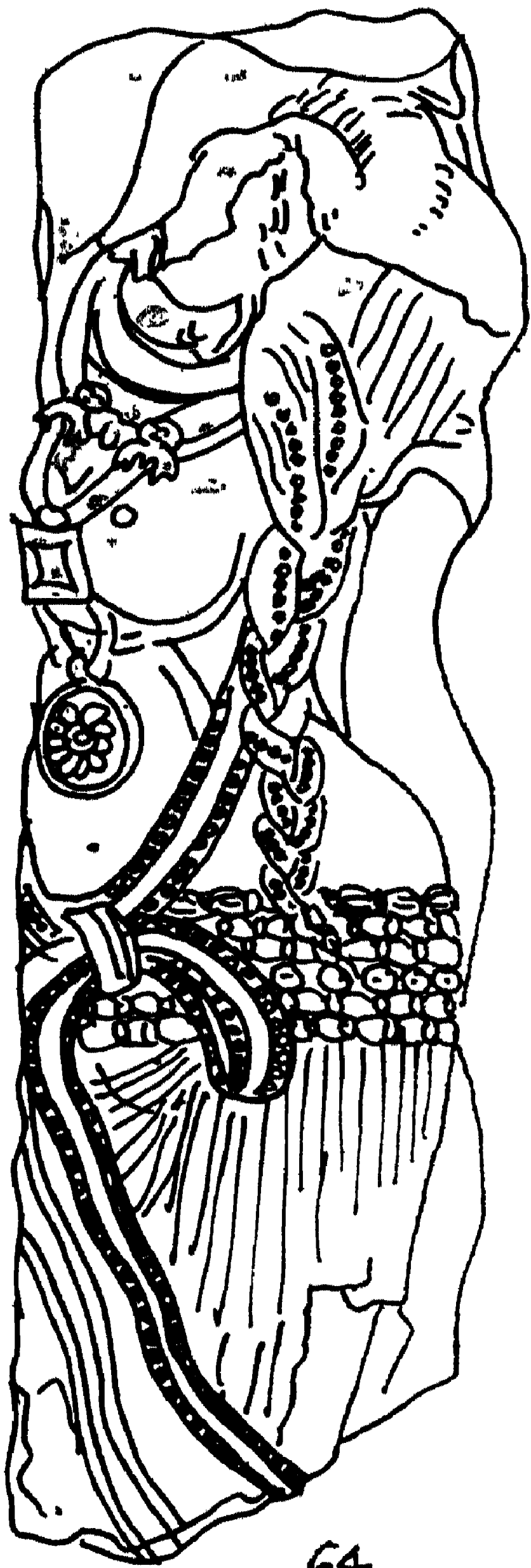
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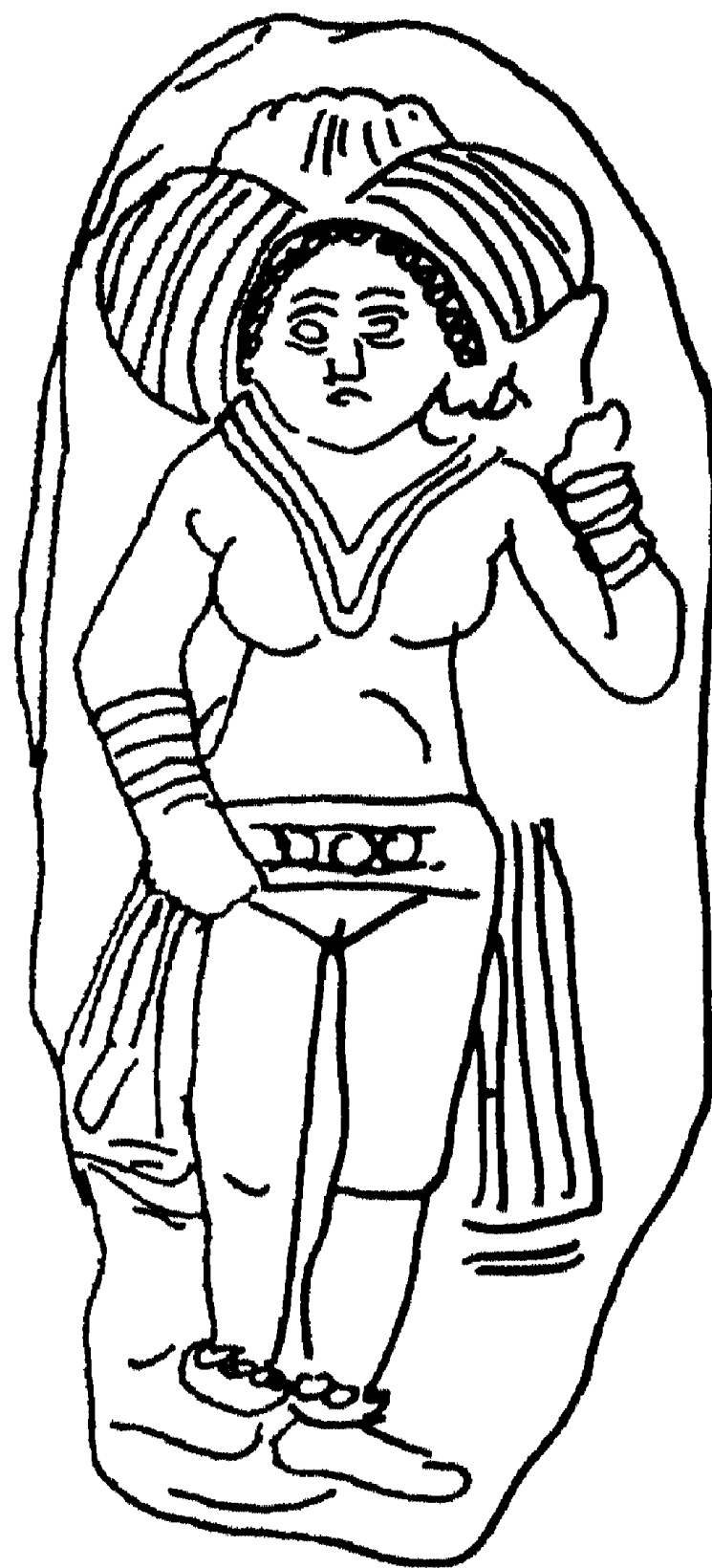
74



75



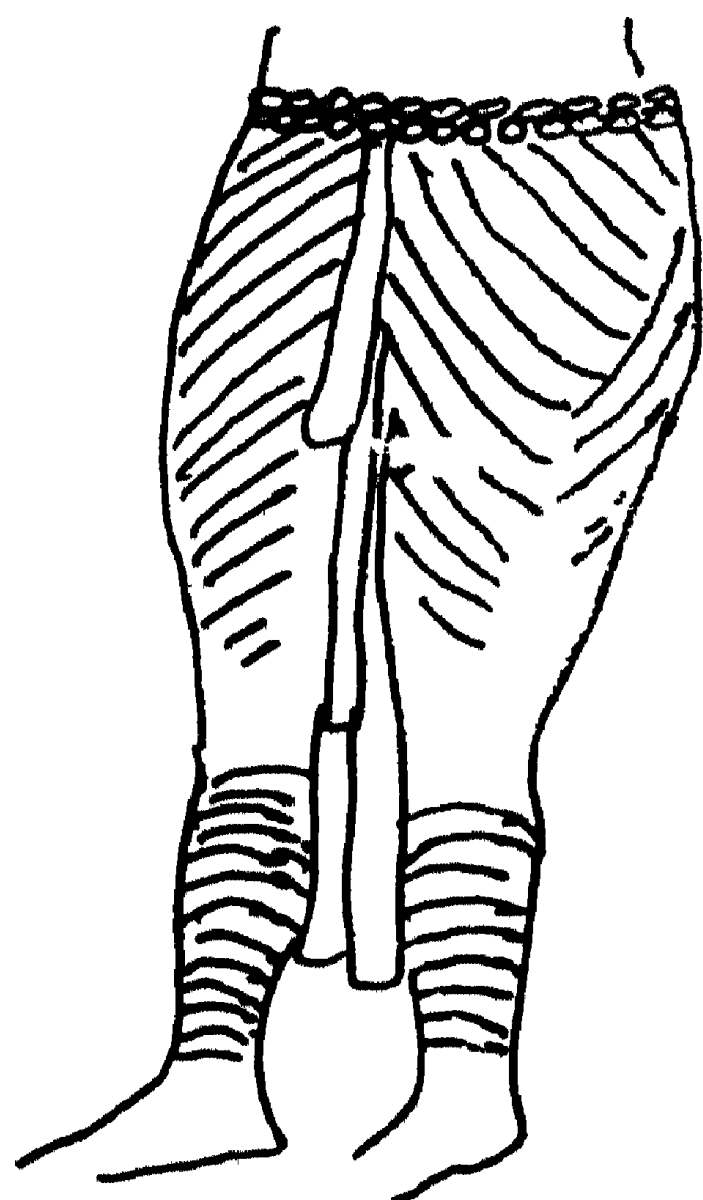
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65



66



67



68



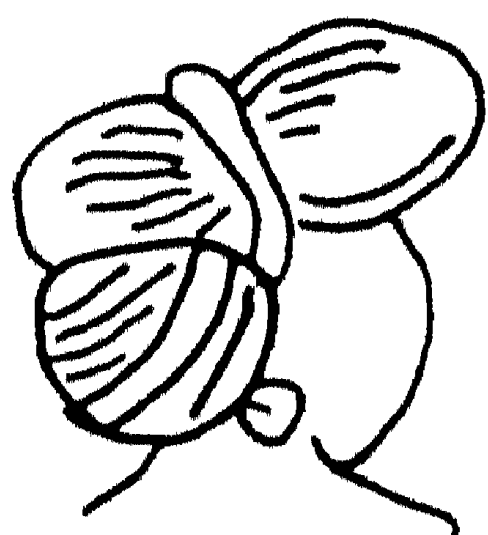
85



86



87



88



89



90



91



92



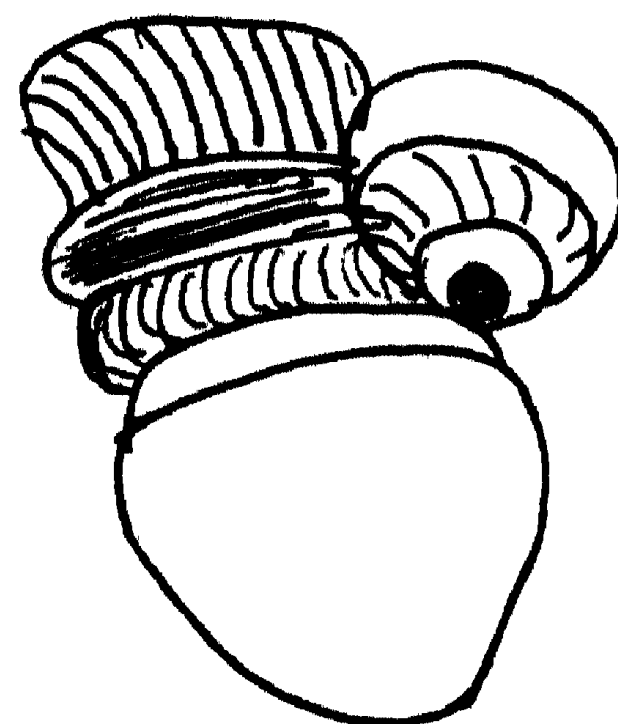
93



94



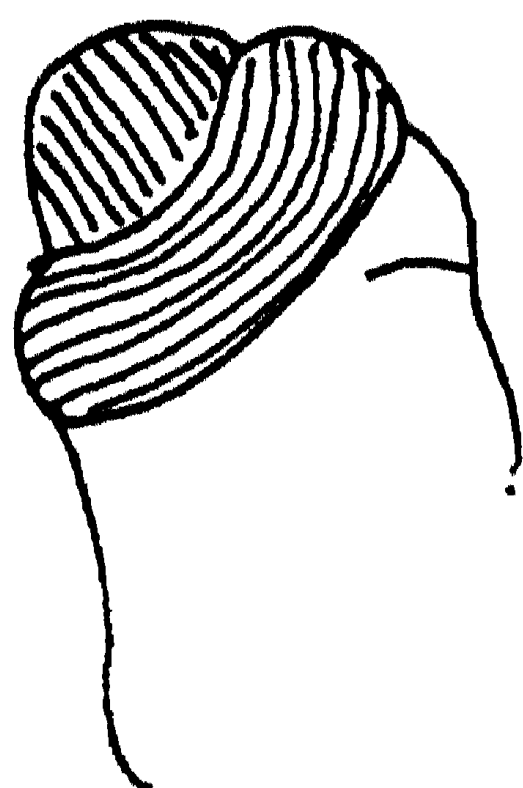
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96



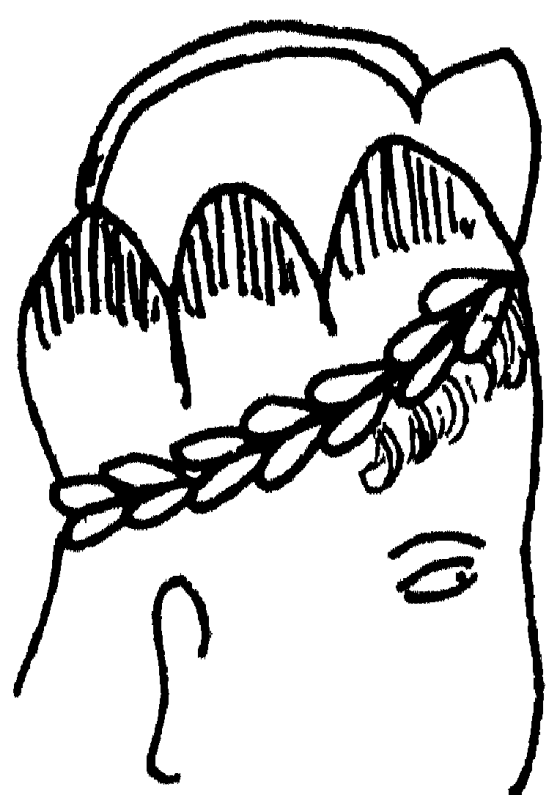
76



77



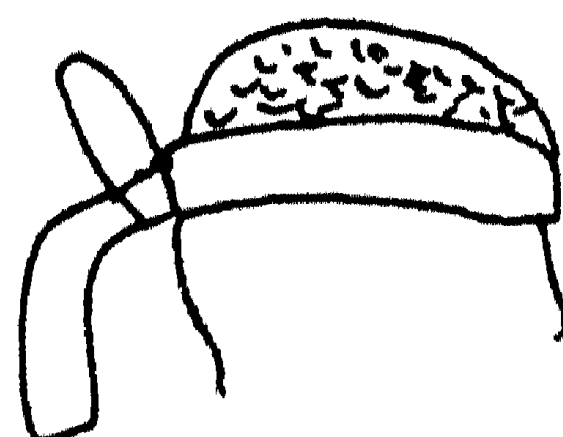
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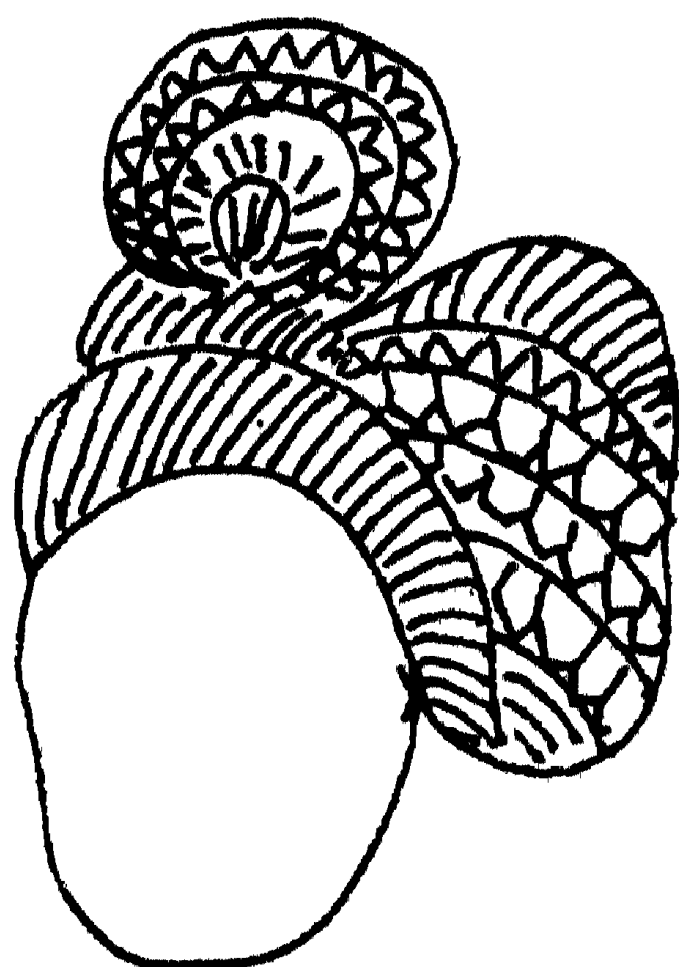
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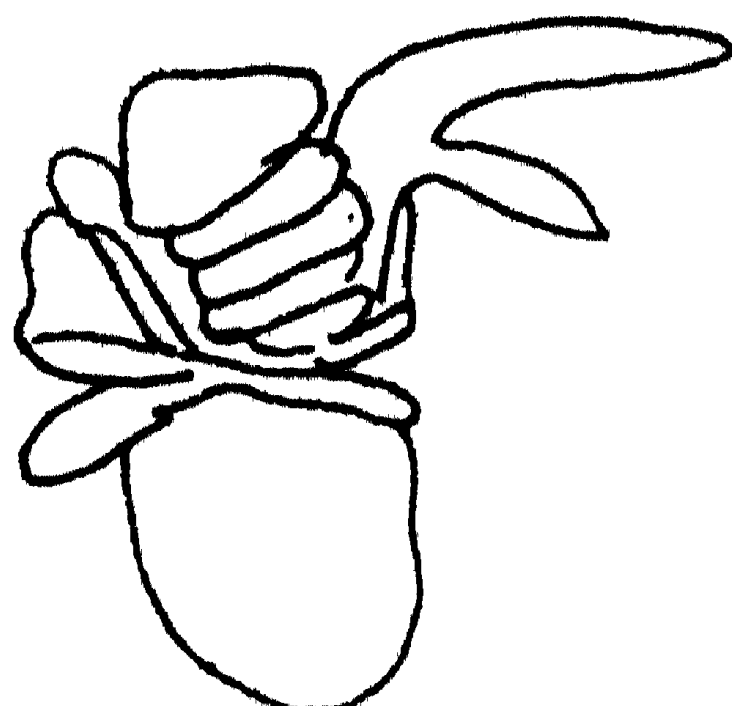
80



81



82



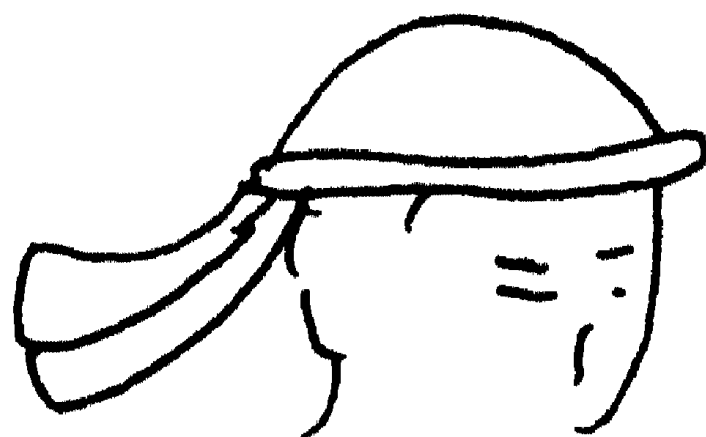
83



84



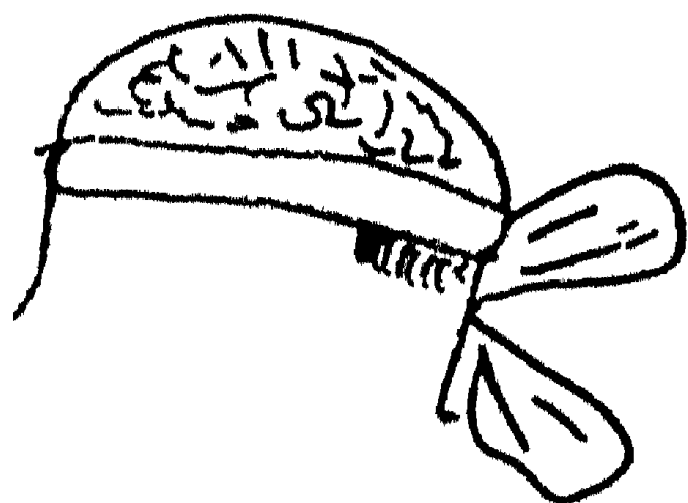
109



110



111



112



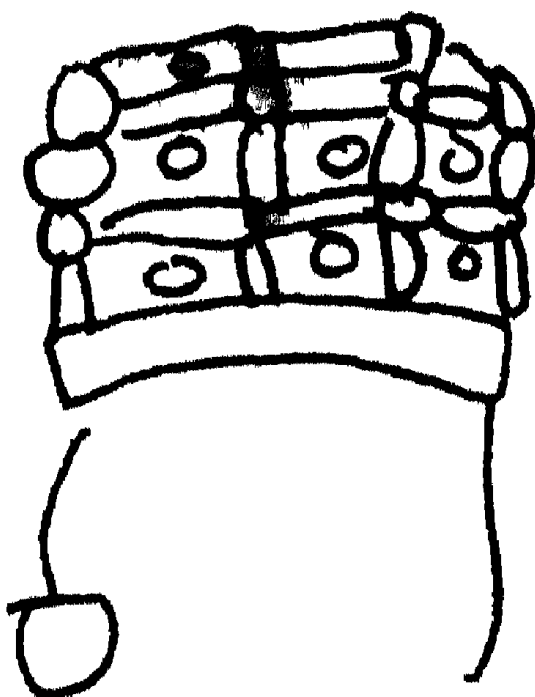
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114



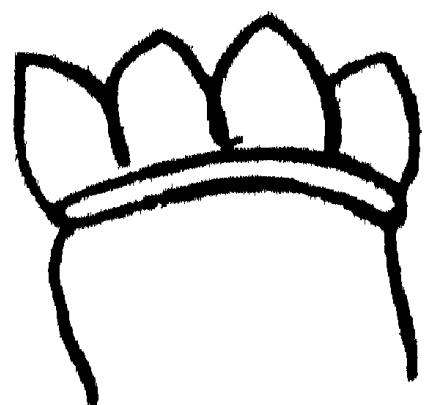
115



116



117



118



119



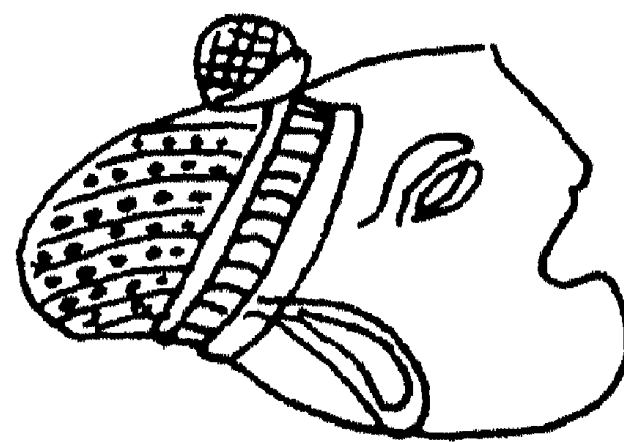
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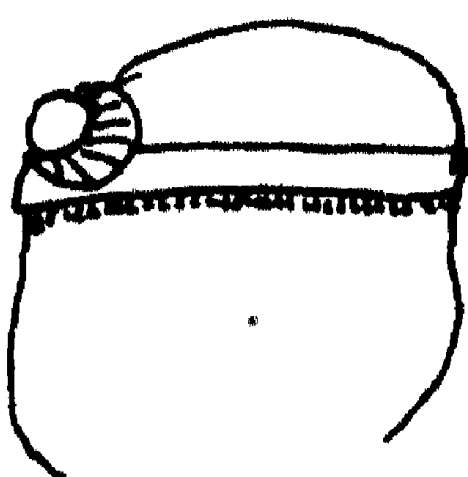
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98



99



100



101



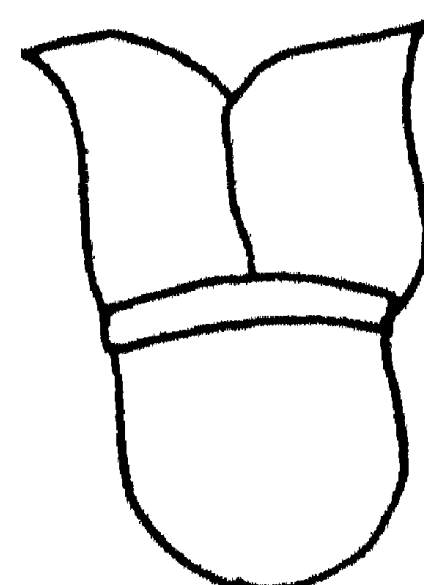
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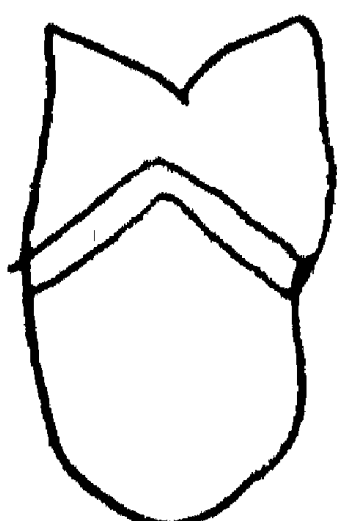
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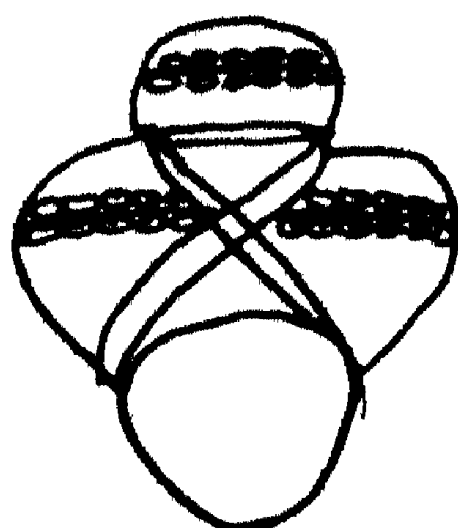
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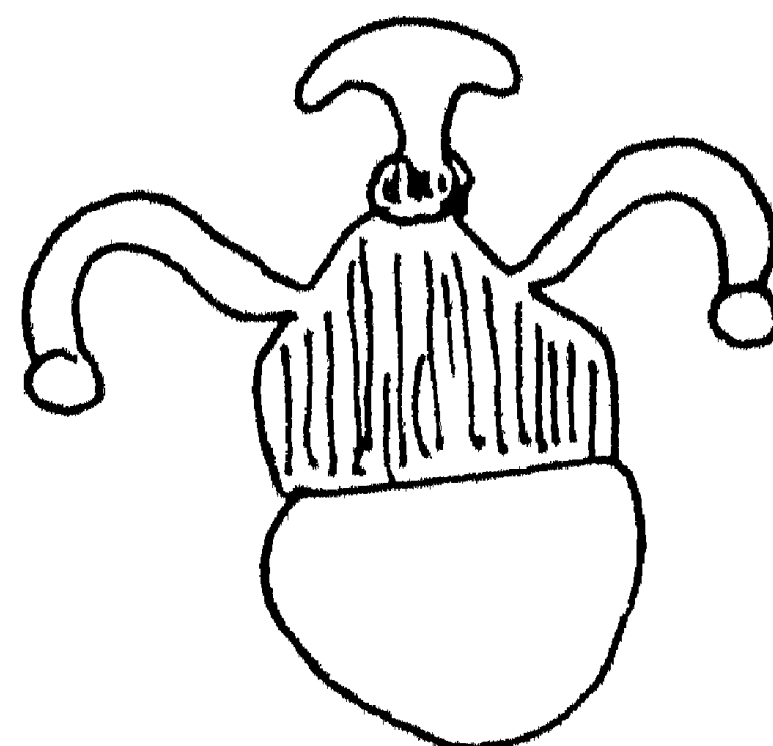
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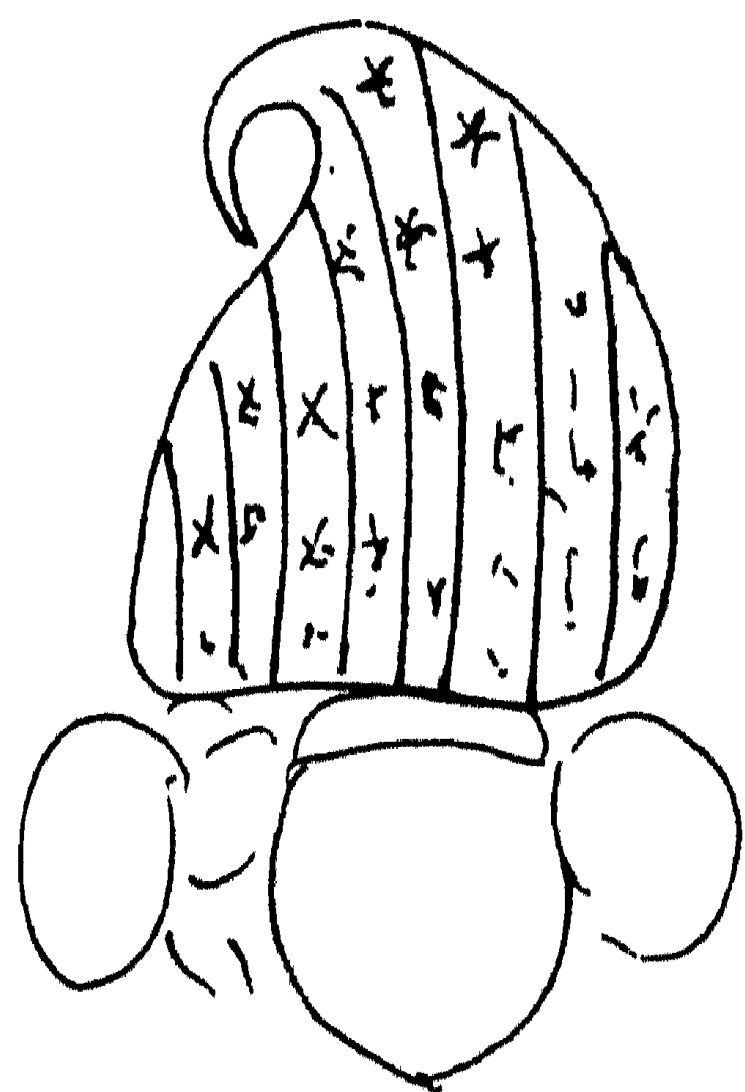
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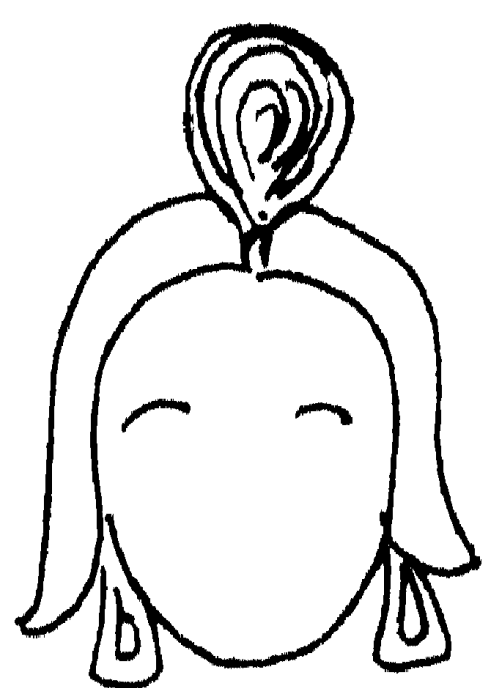
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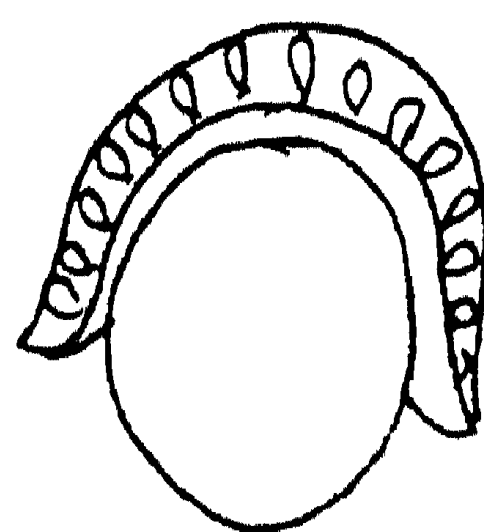
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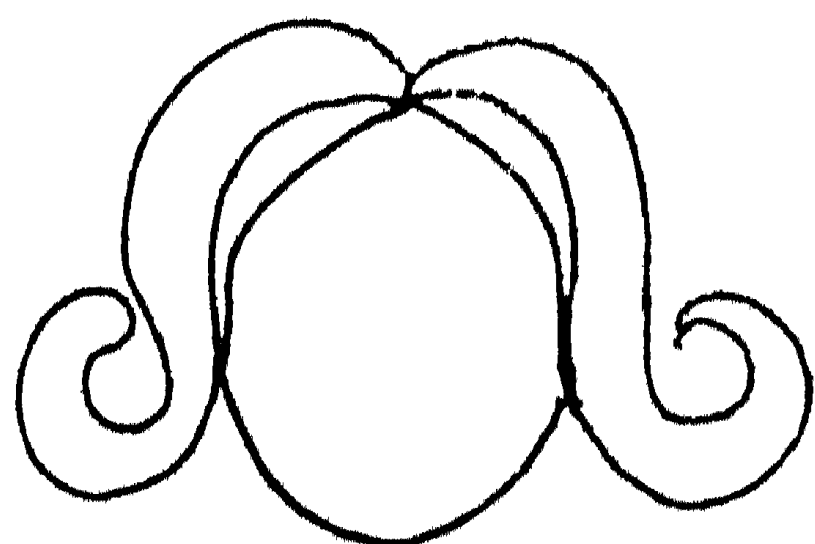
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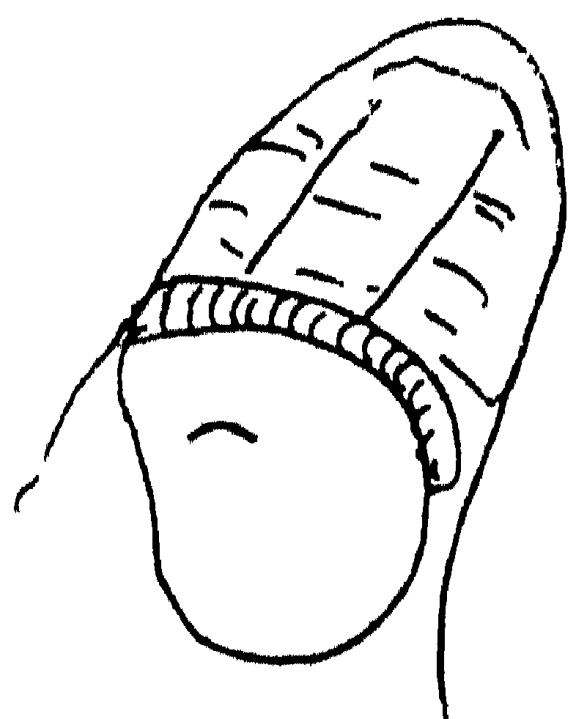
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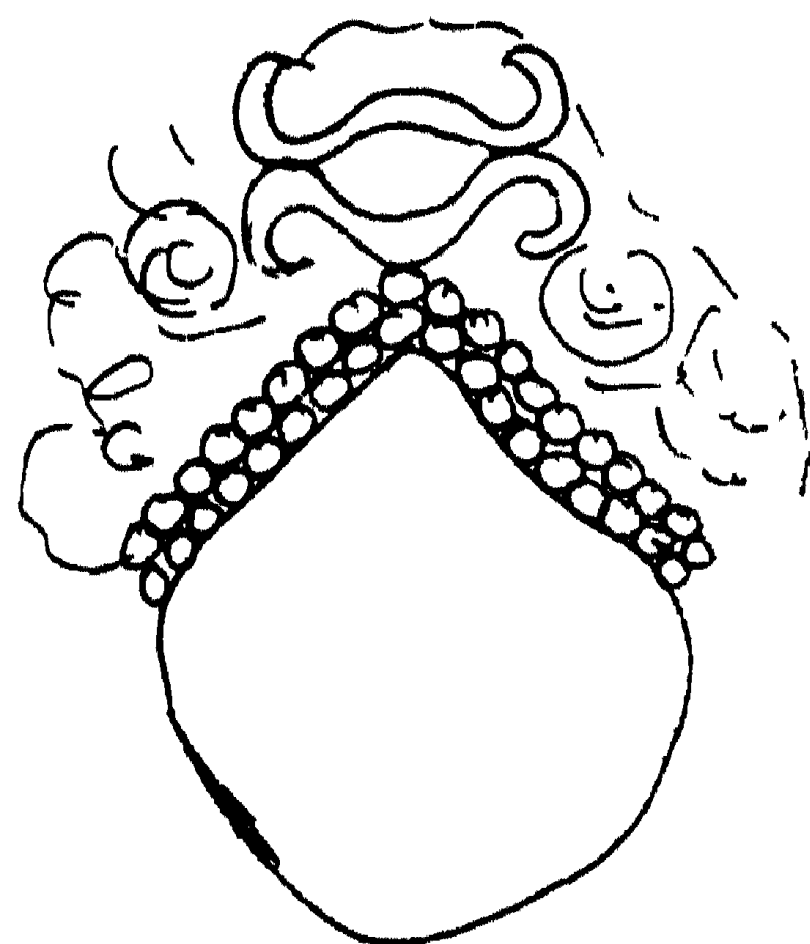
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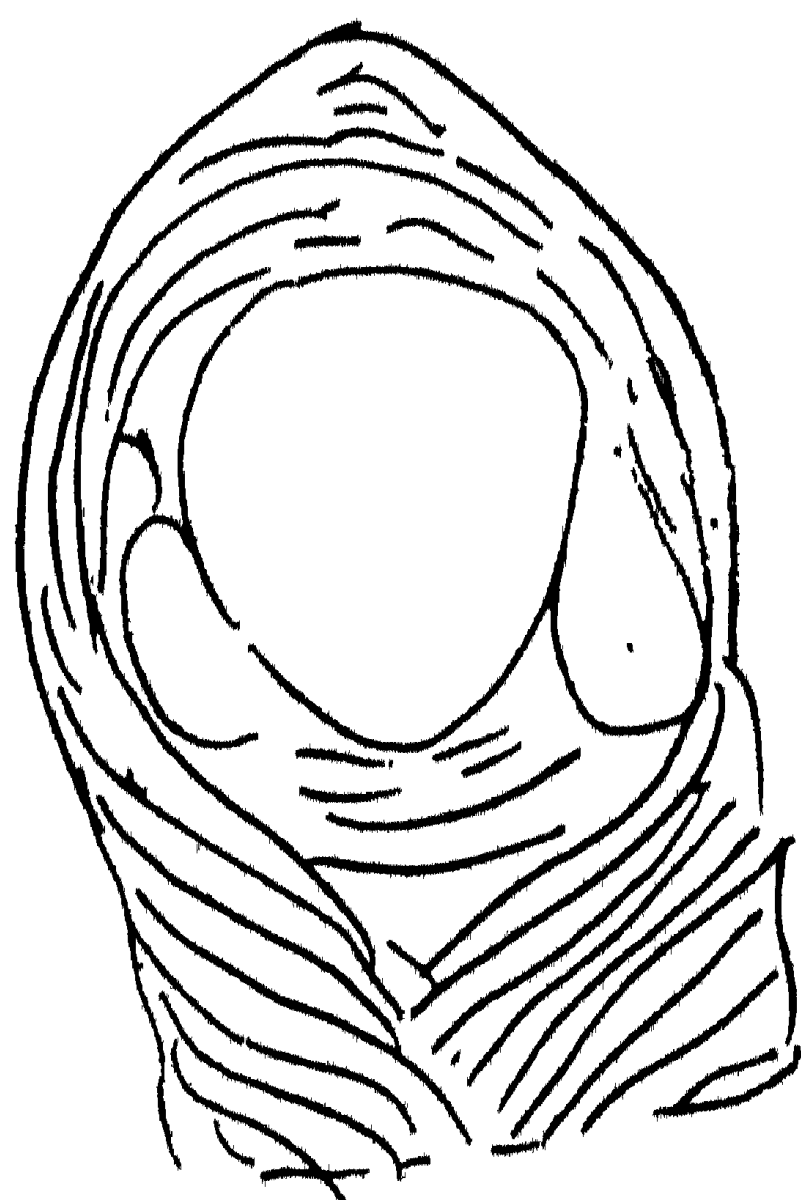
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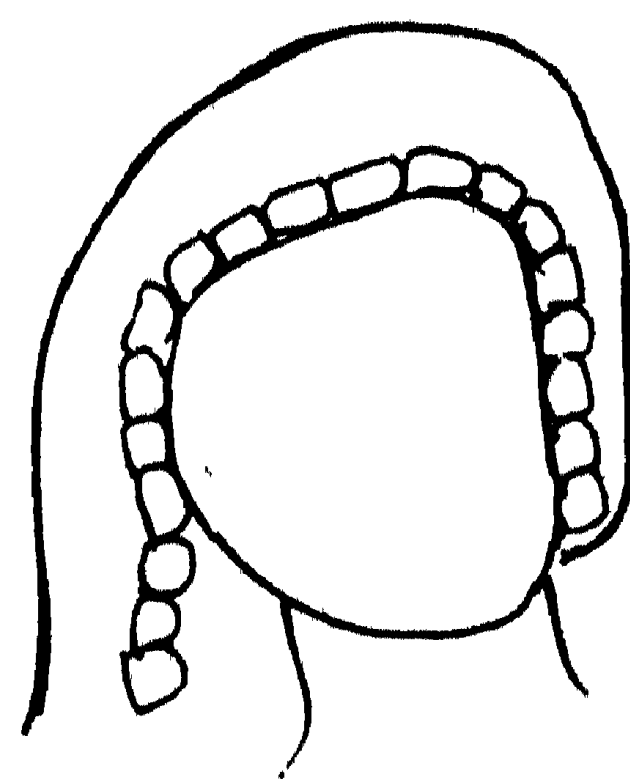
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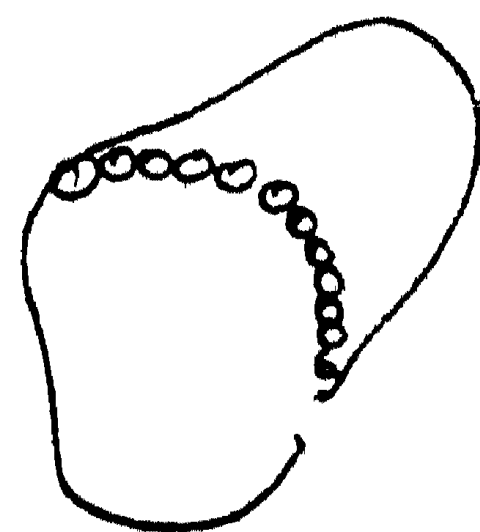
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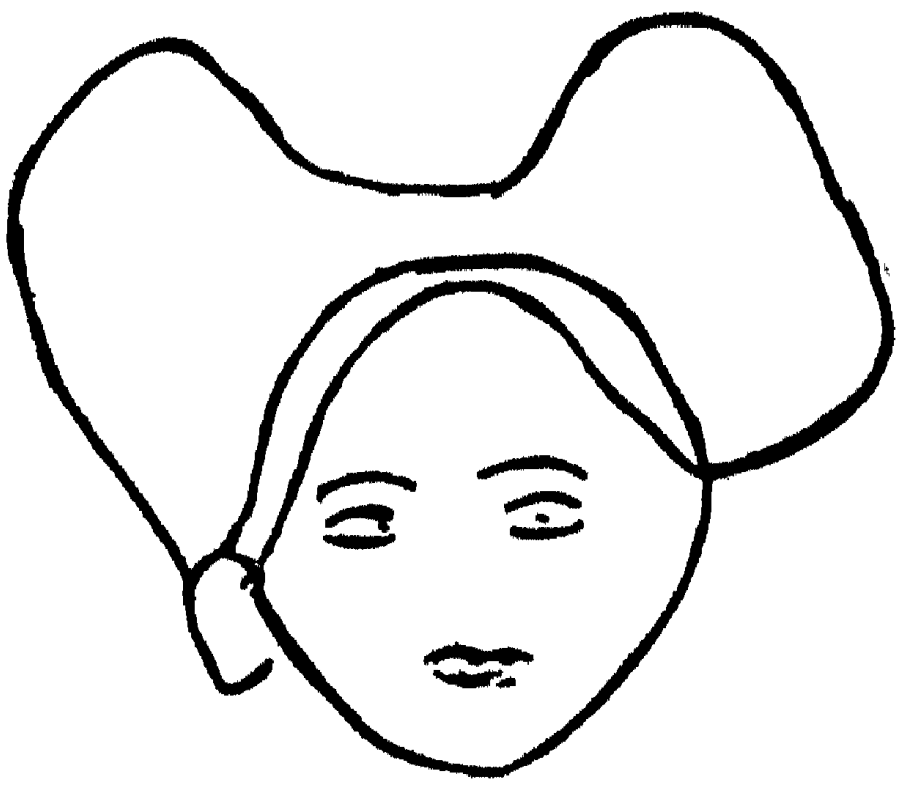
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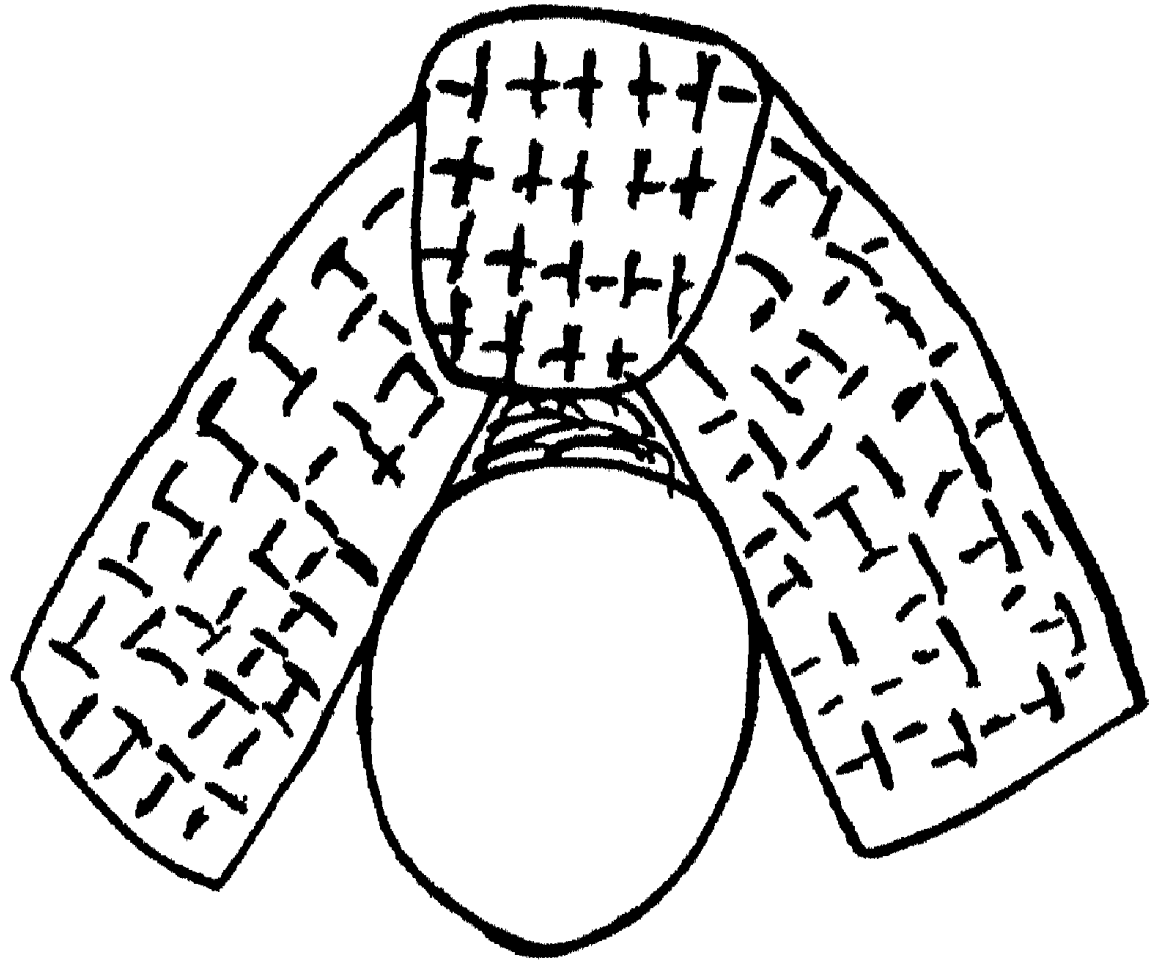
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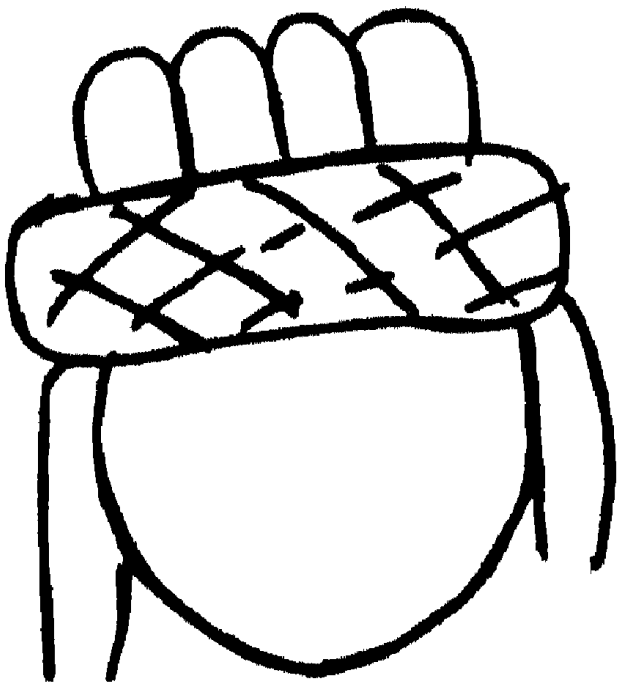
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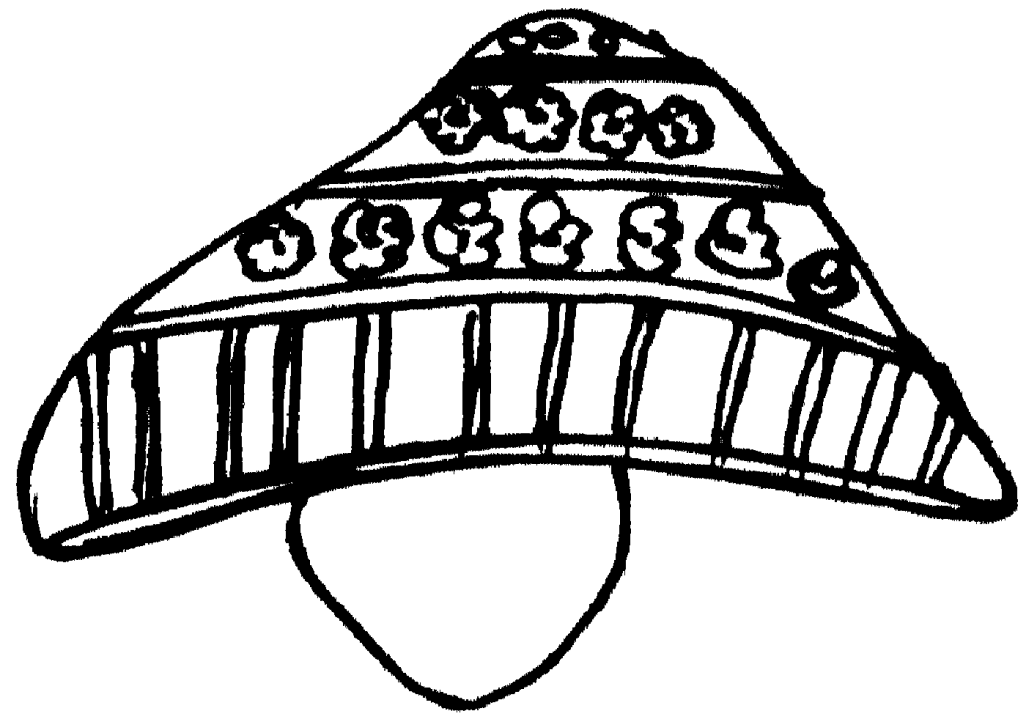
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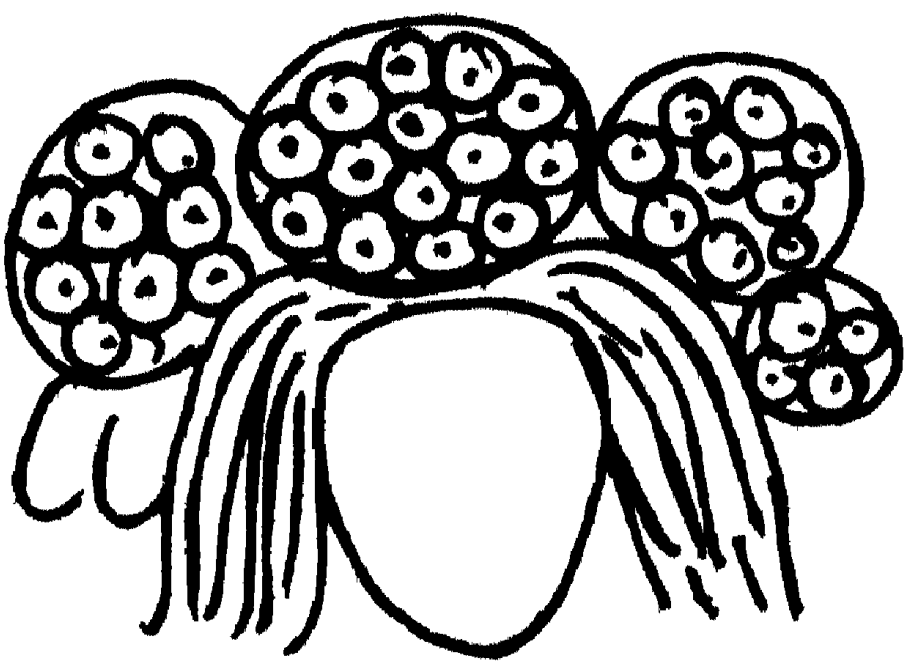
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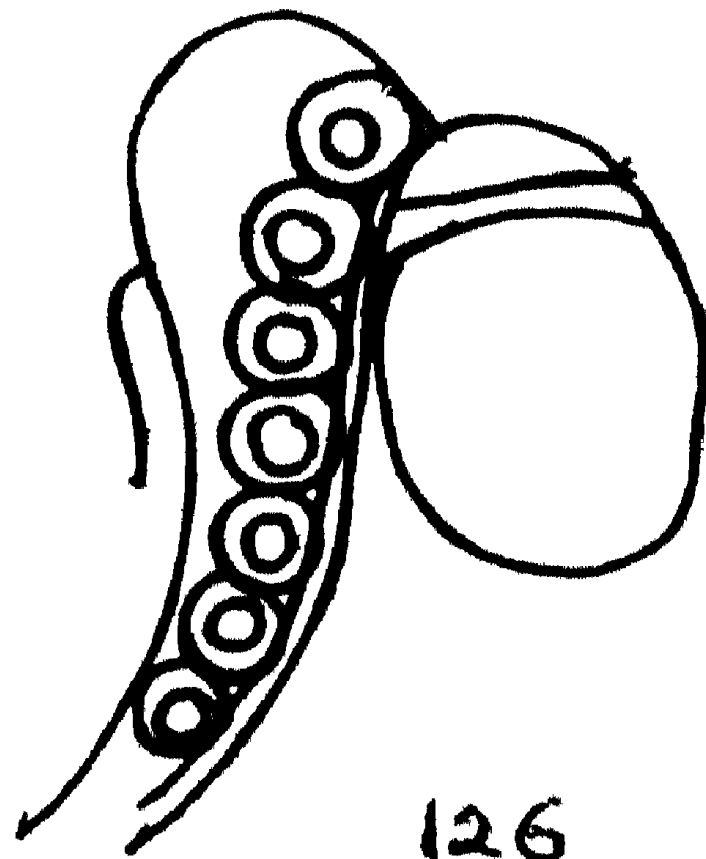
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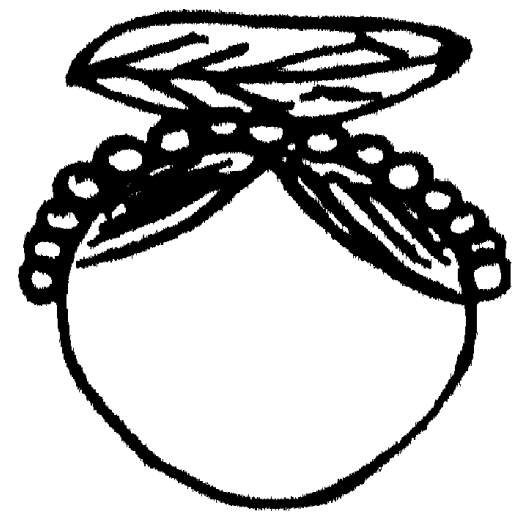
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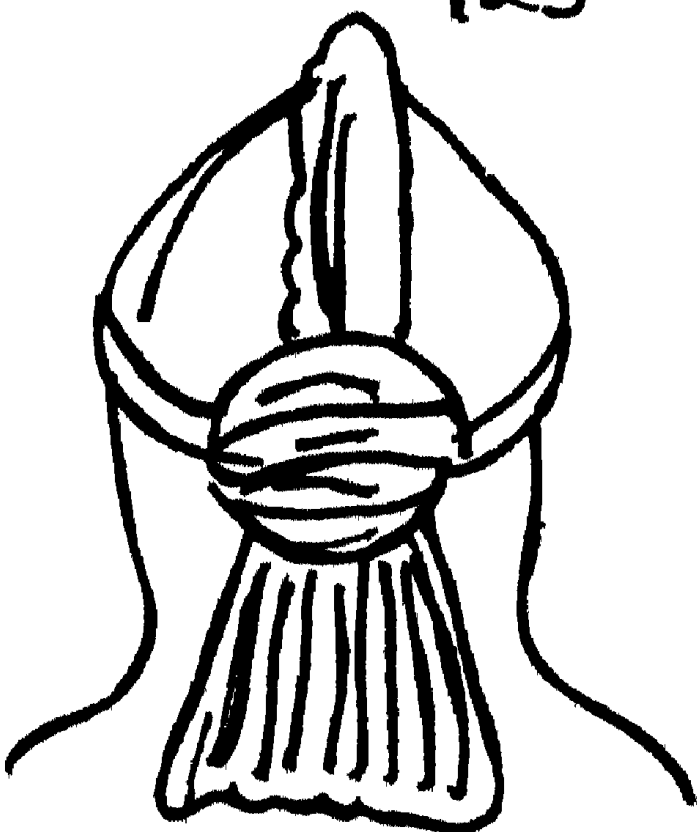
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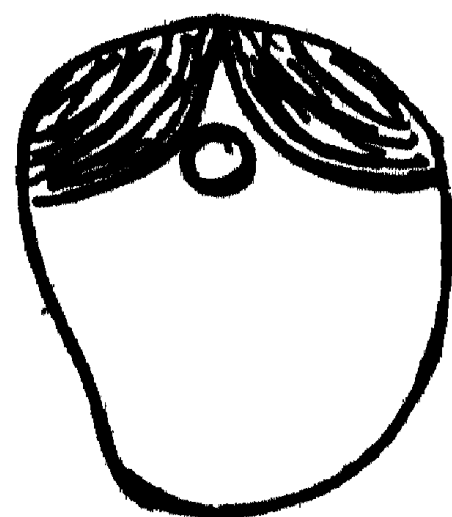
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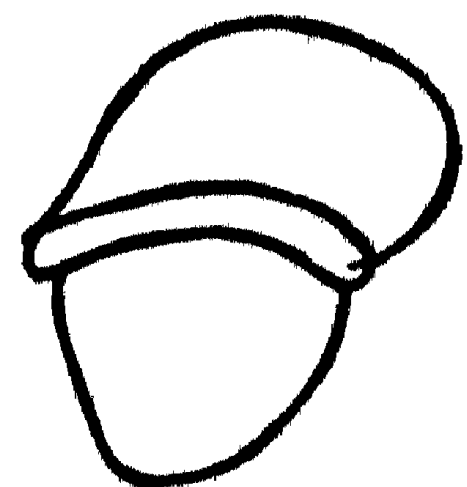
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128



129



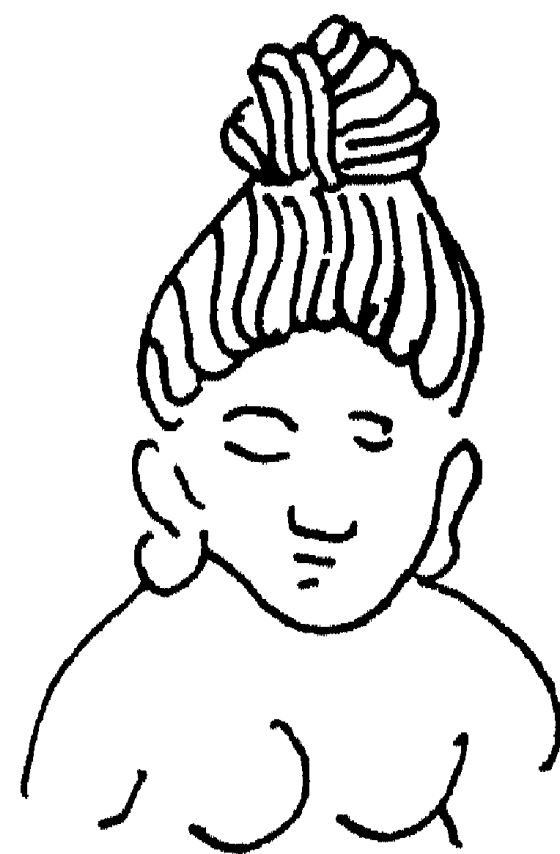
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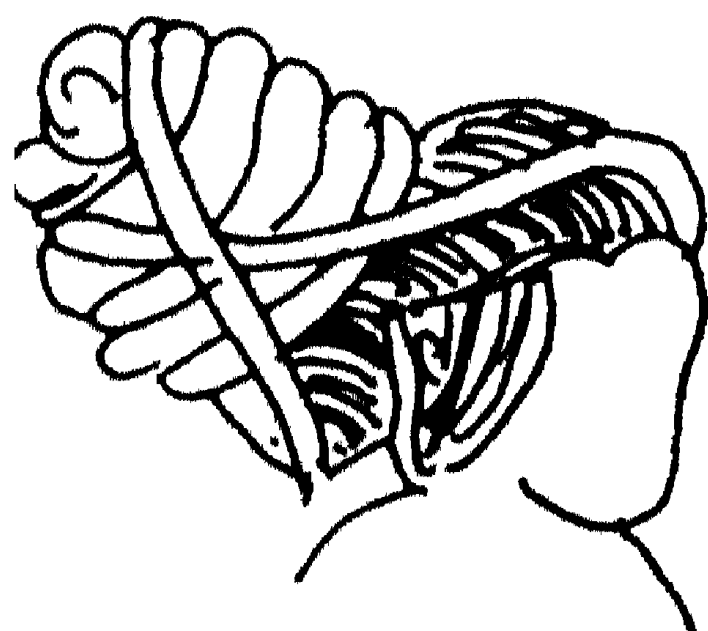
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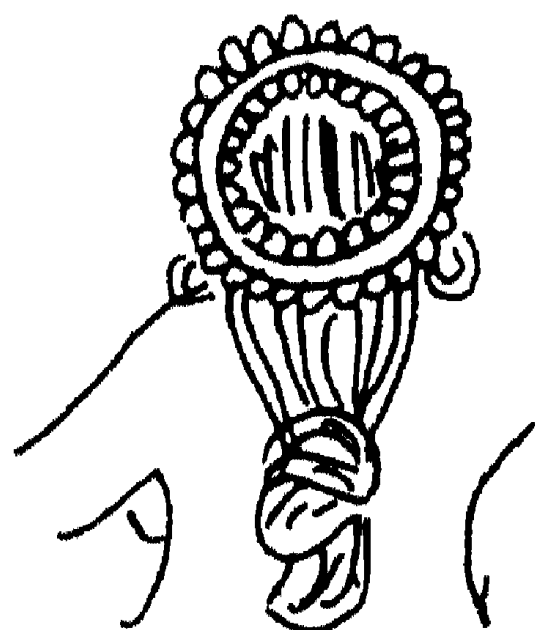
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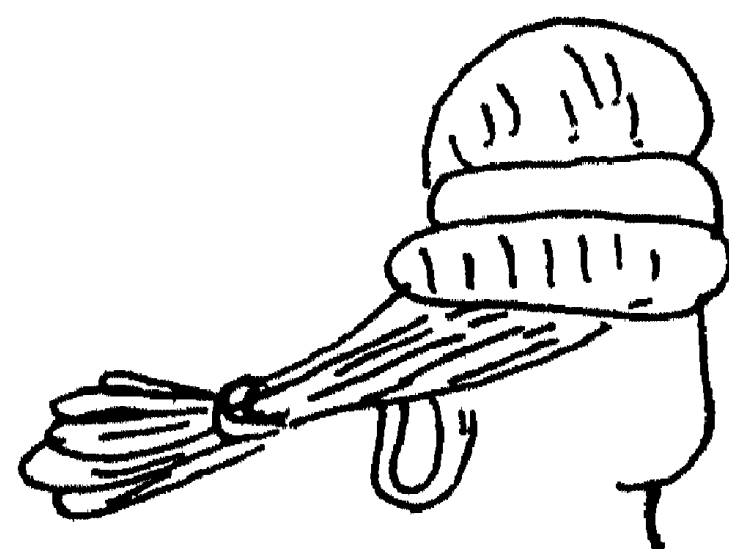
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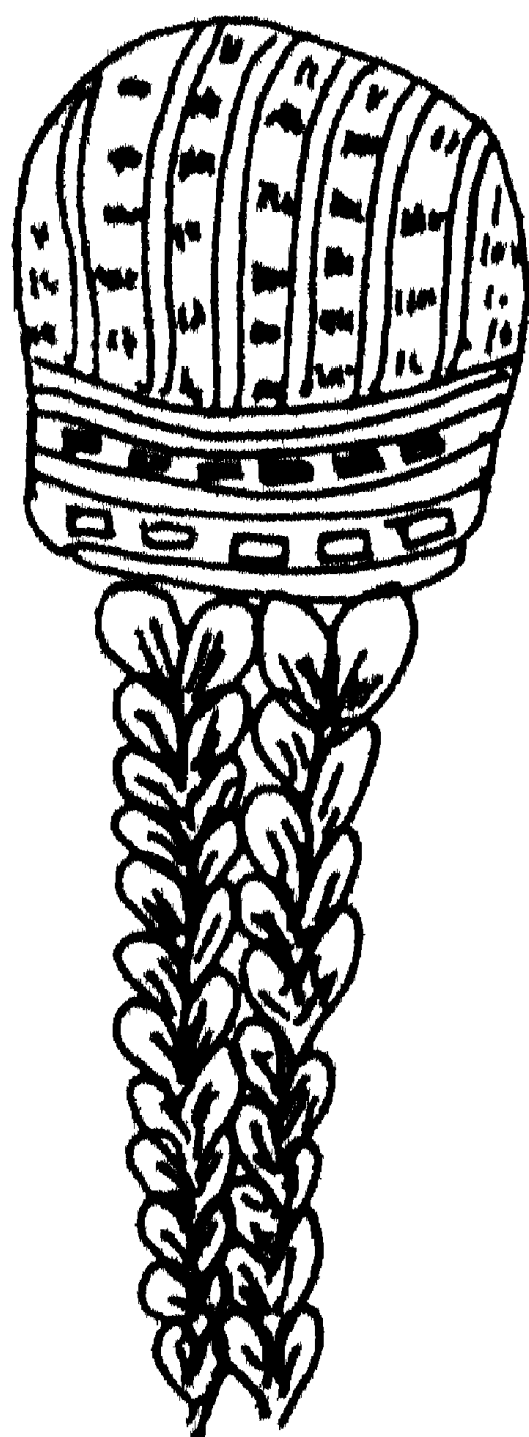
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154



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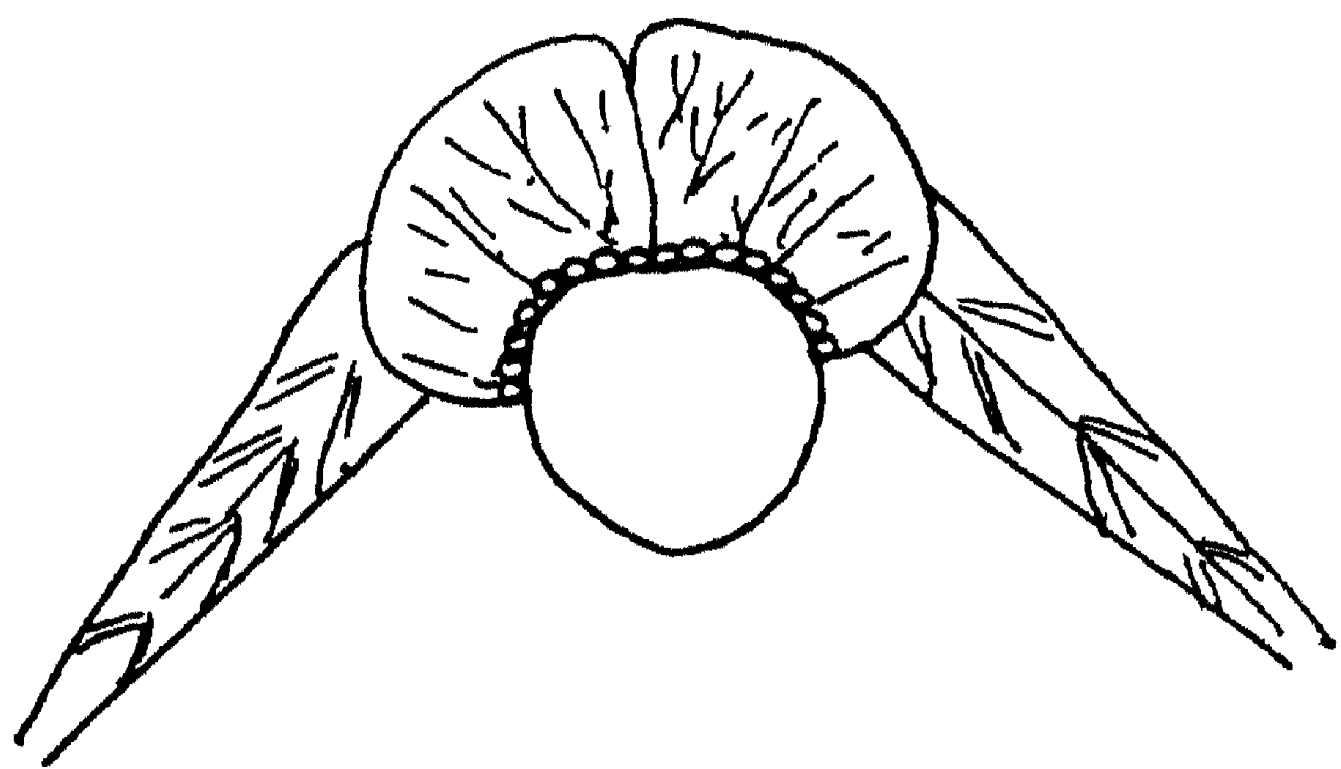
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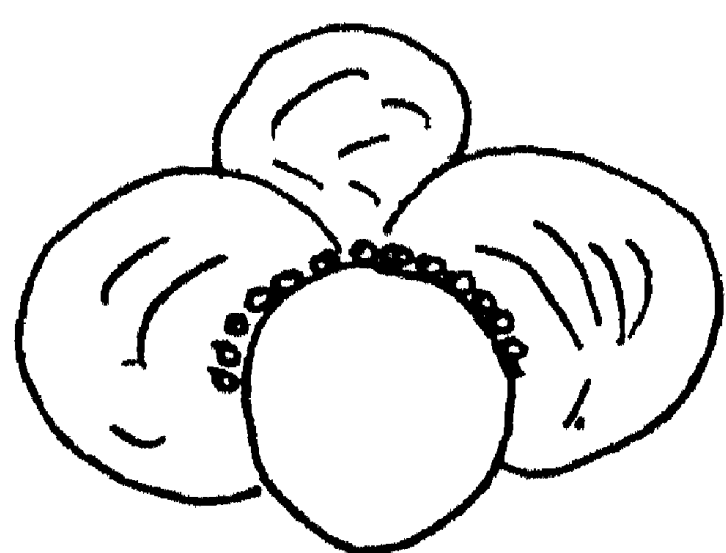
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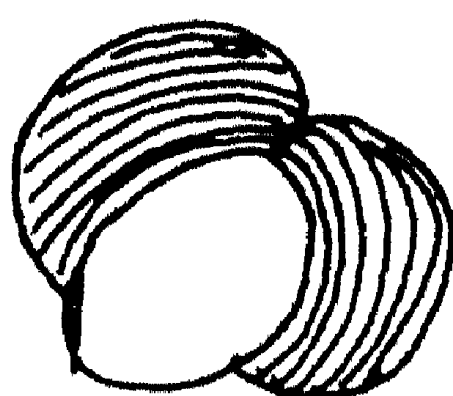
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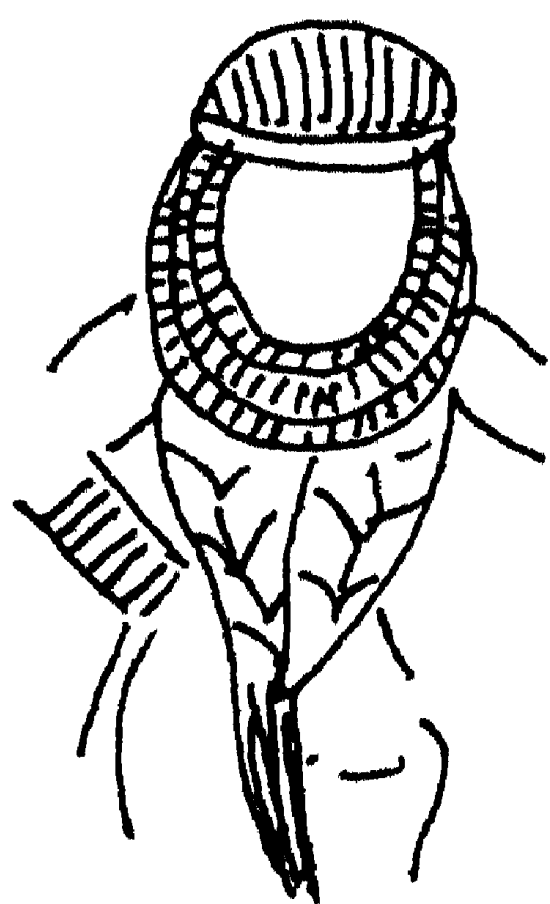
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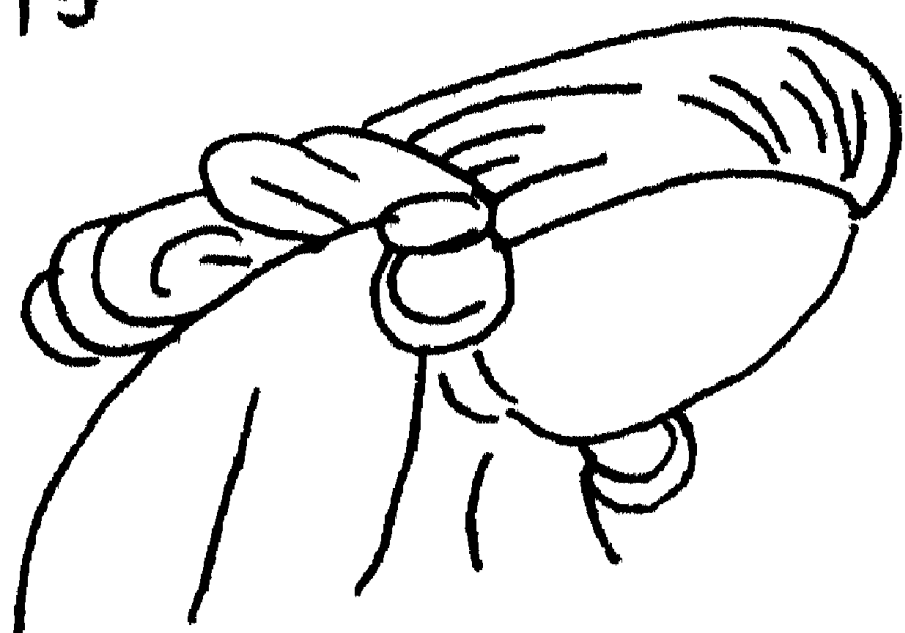
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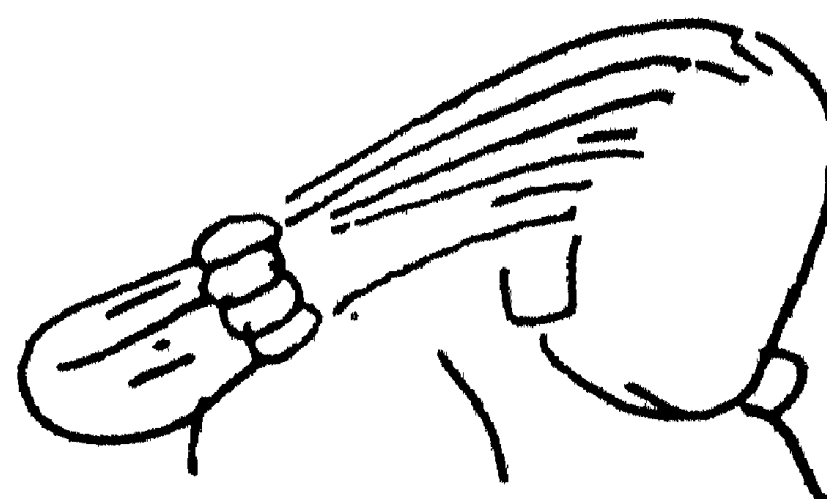
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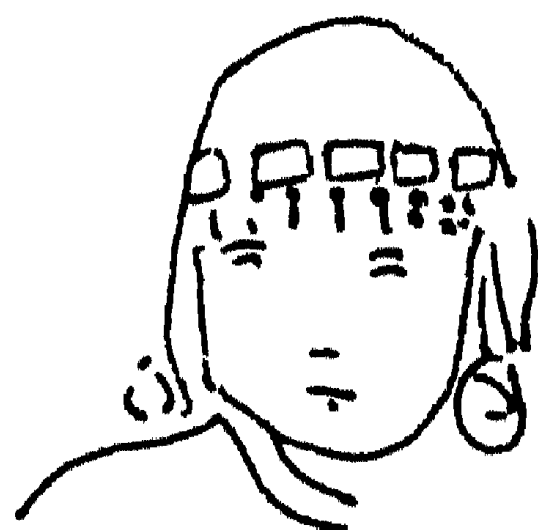
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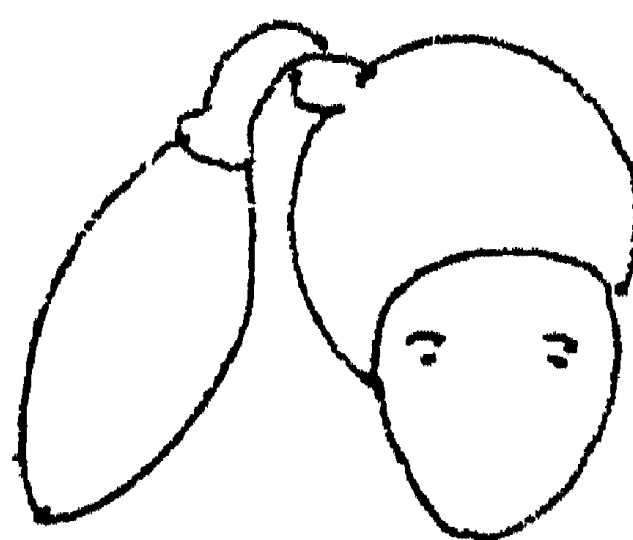
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168



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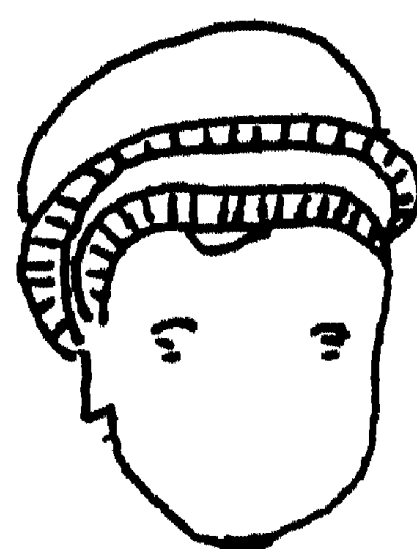
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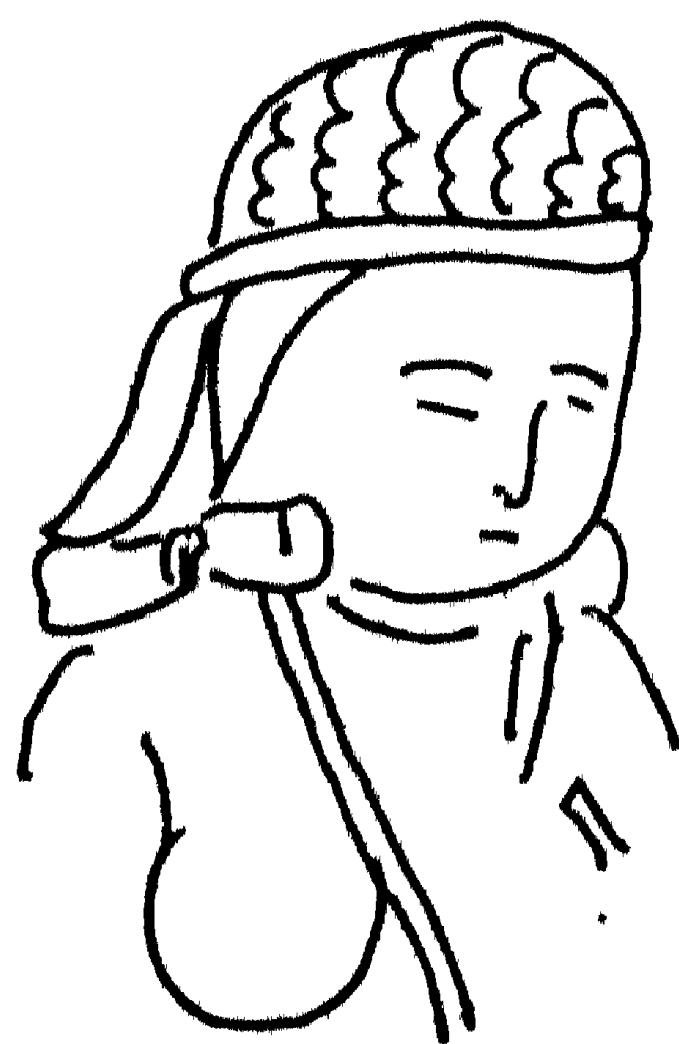
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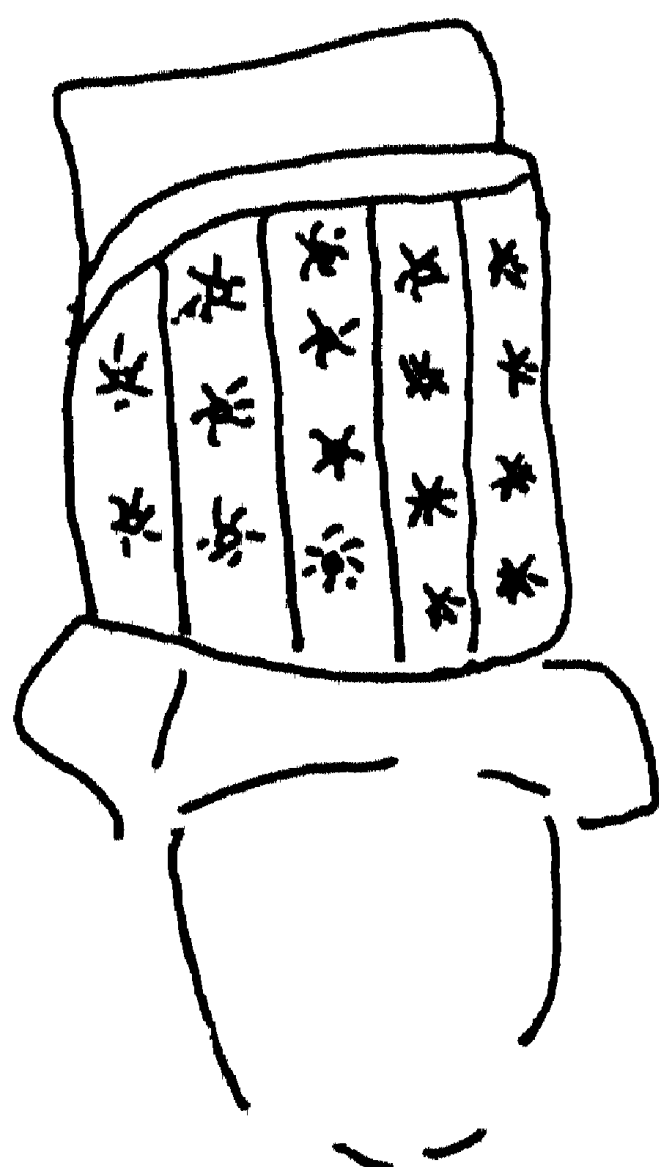
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173



174



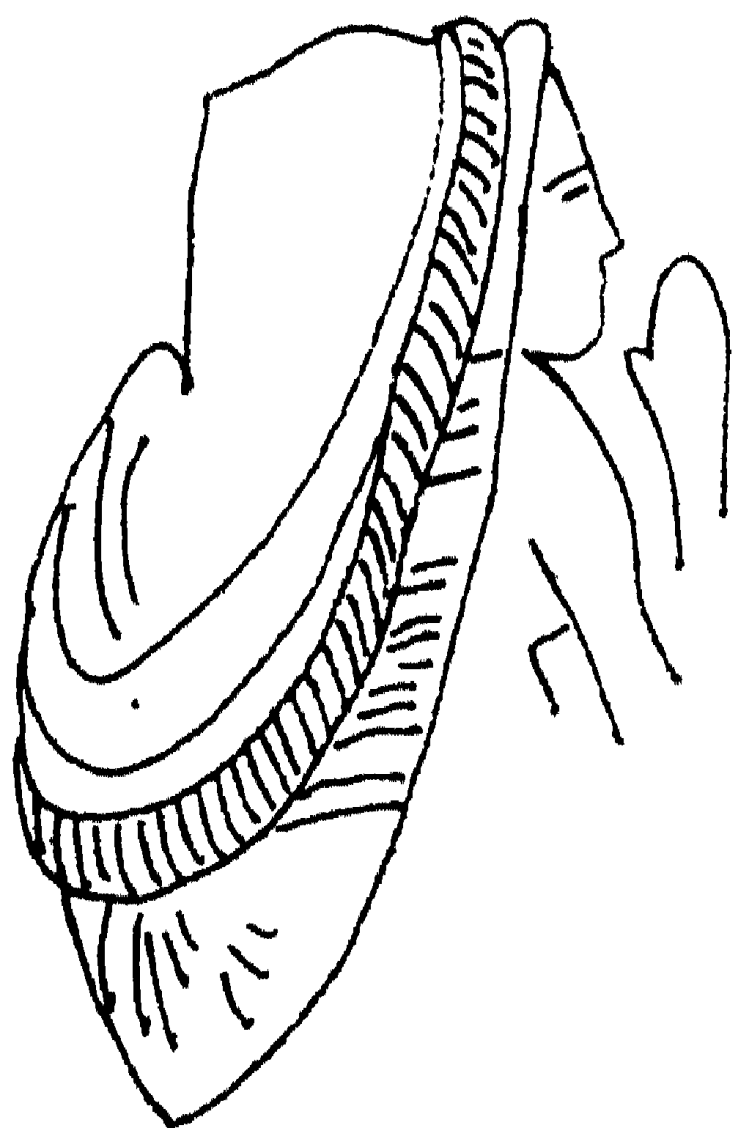
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176



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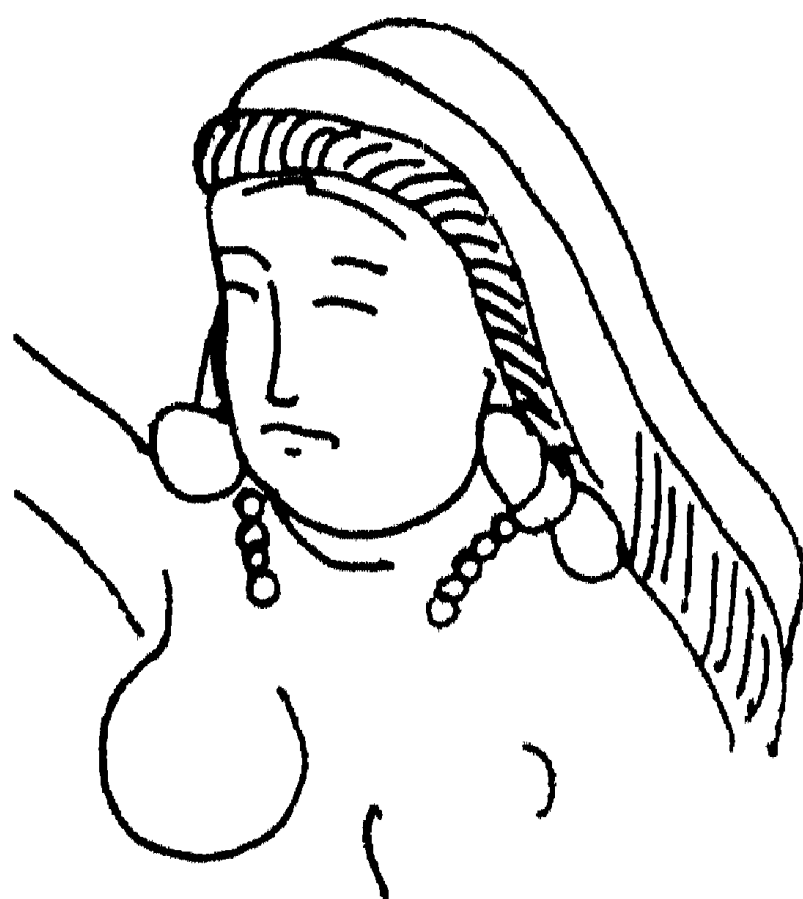
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164



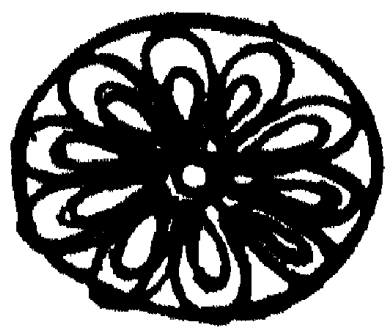
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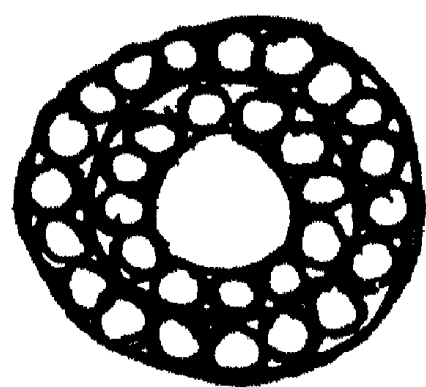
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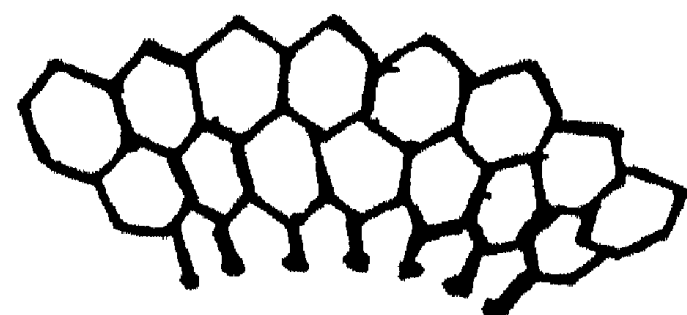
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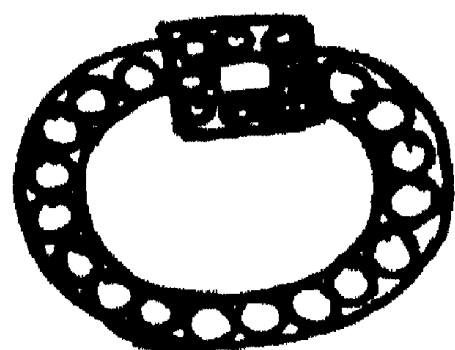
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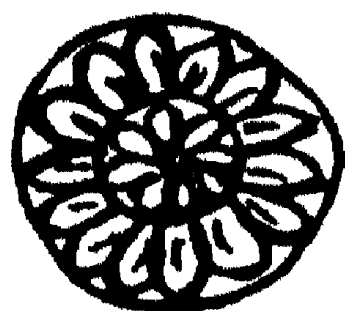
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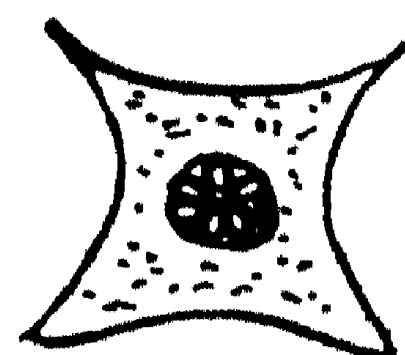
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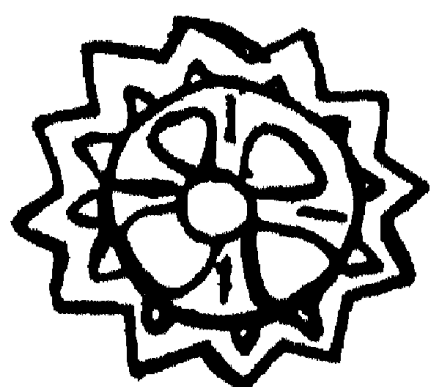
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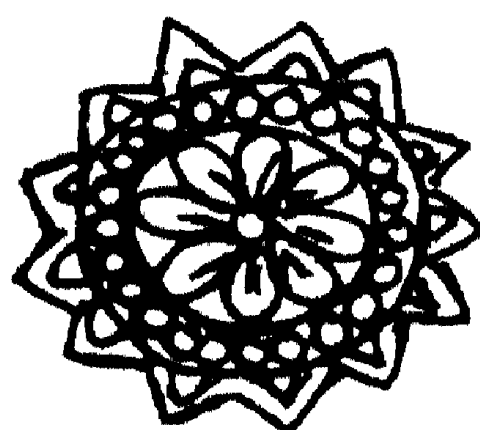
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182



183



184



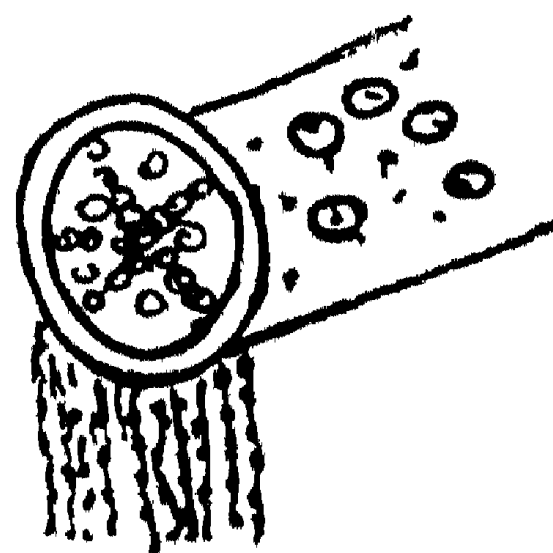
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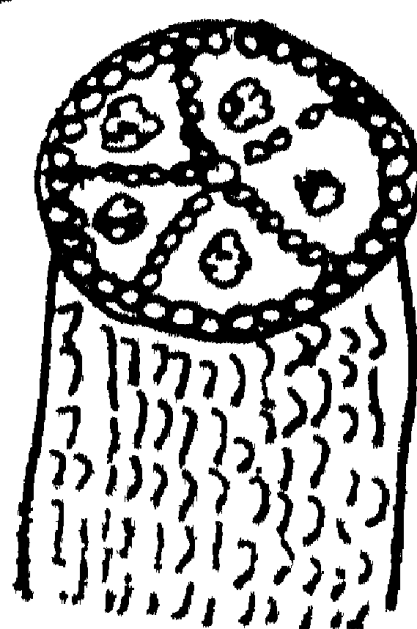
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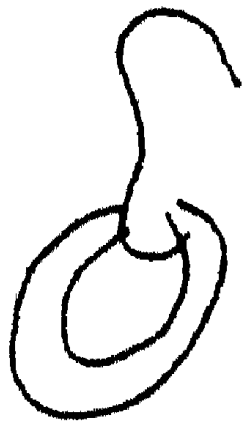
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188



189



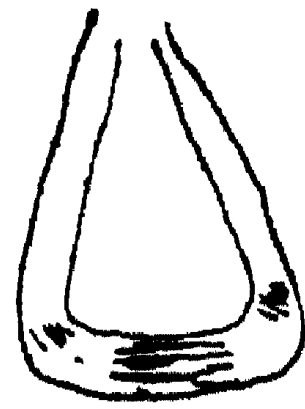
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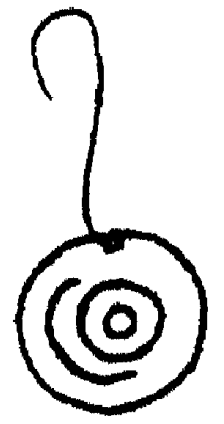
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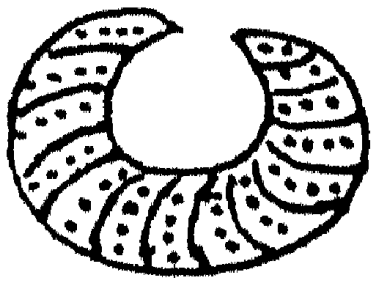
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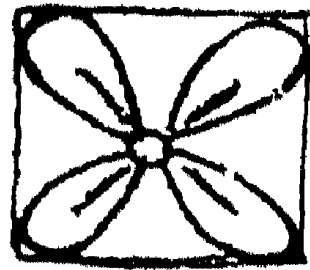
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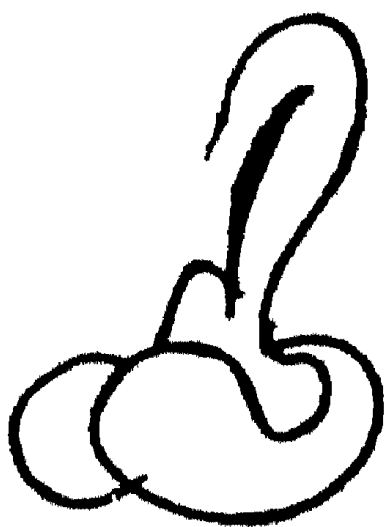
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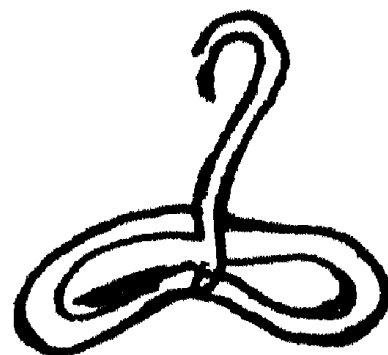
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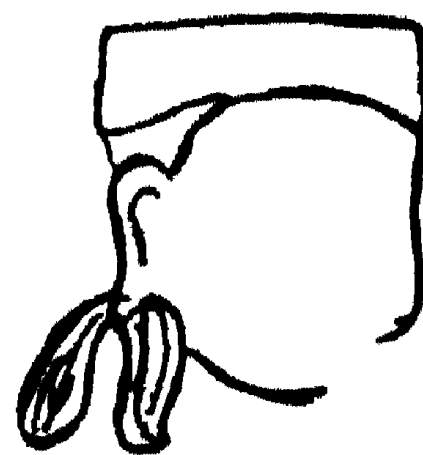
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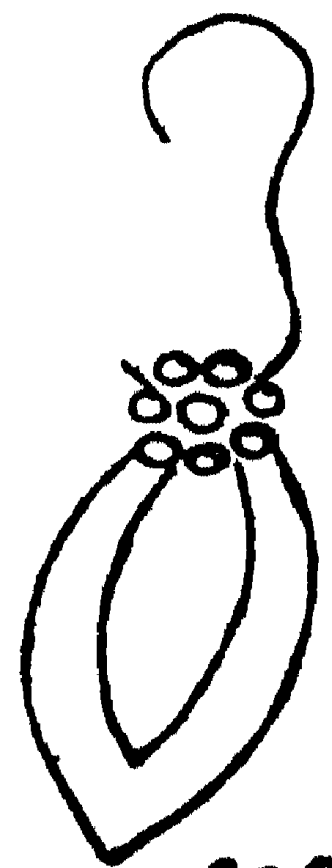
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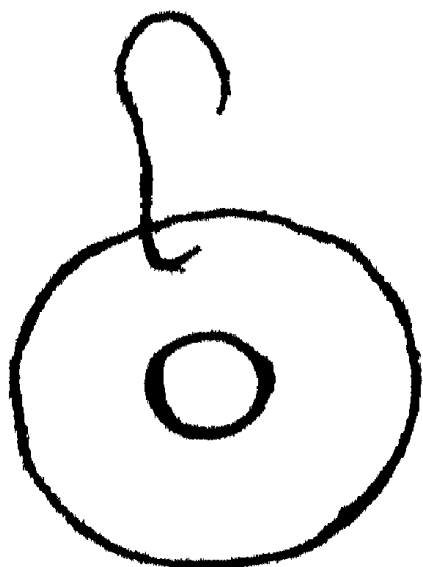
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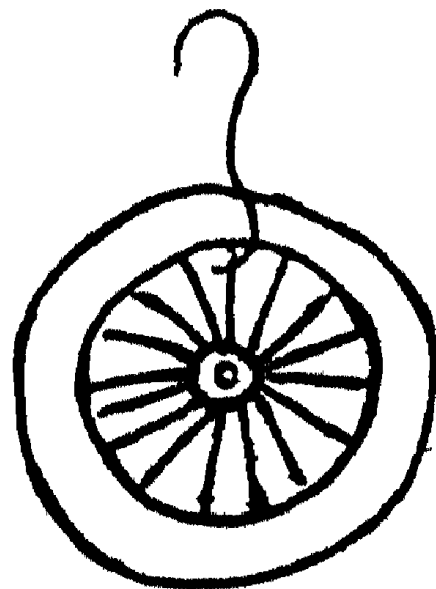
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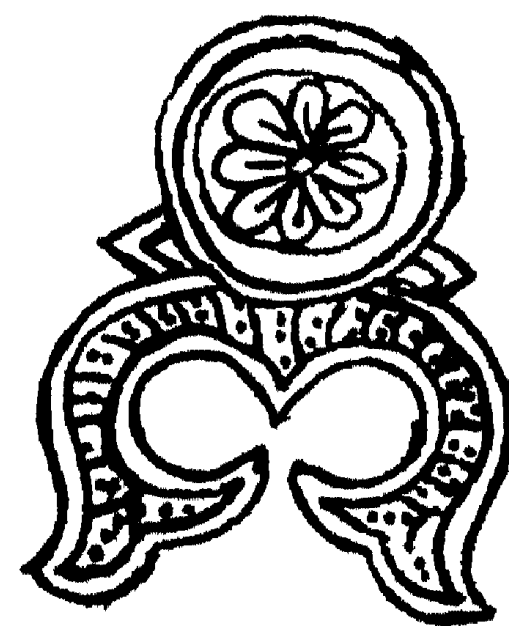
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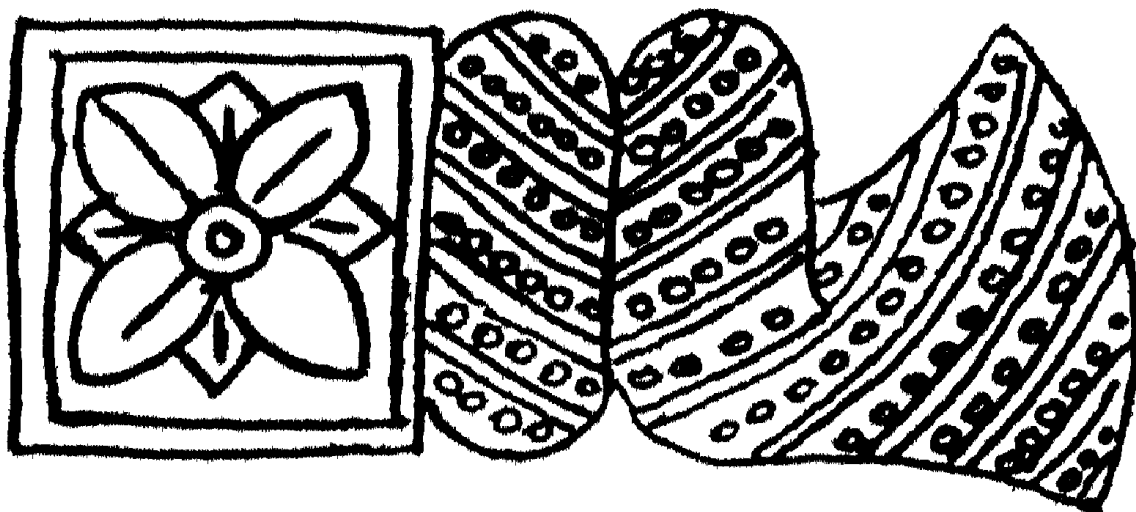
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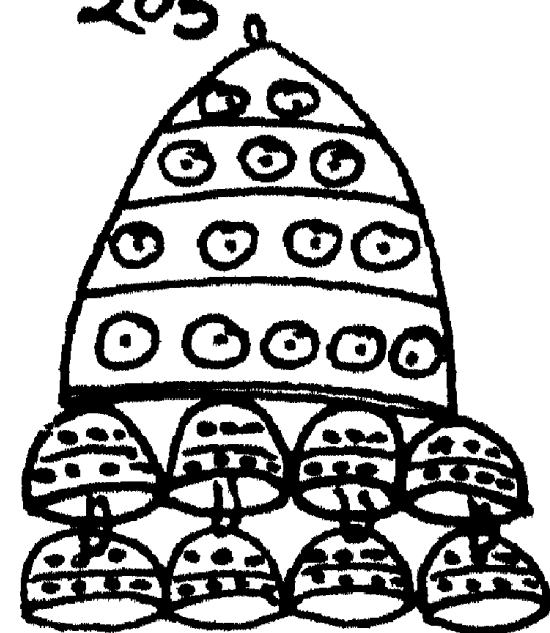
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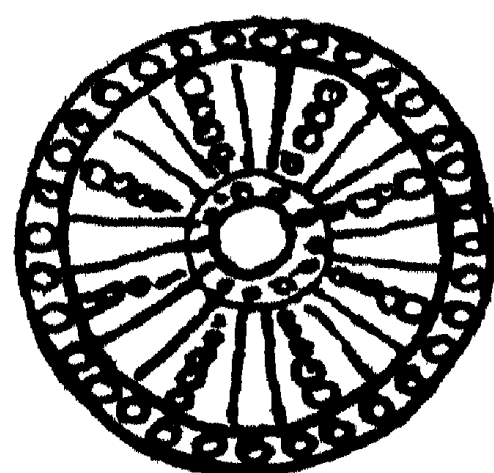
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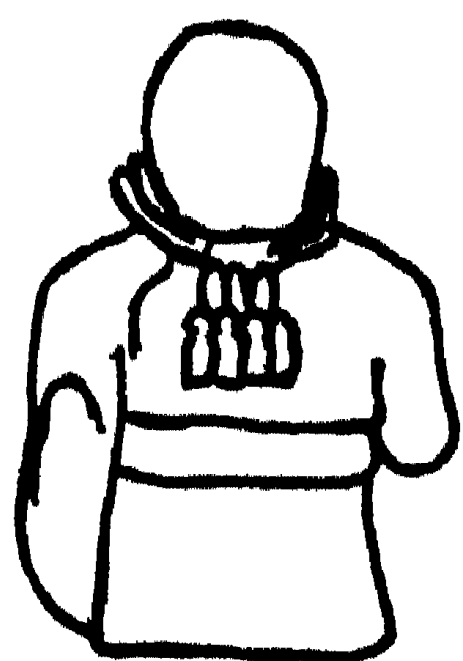
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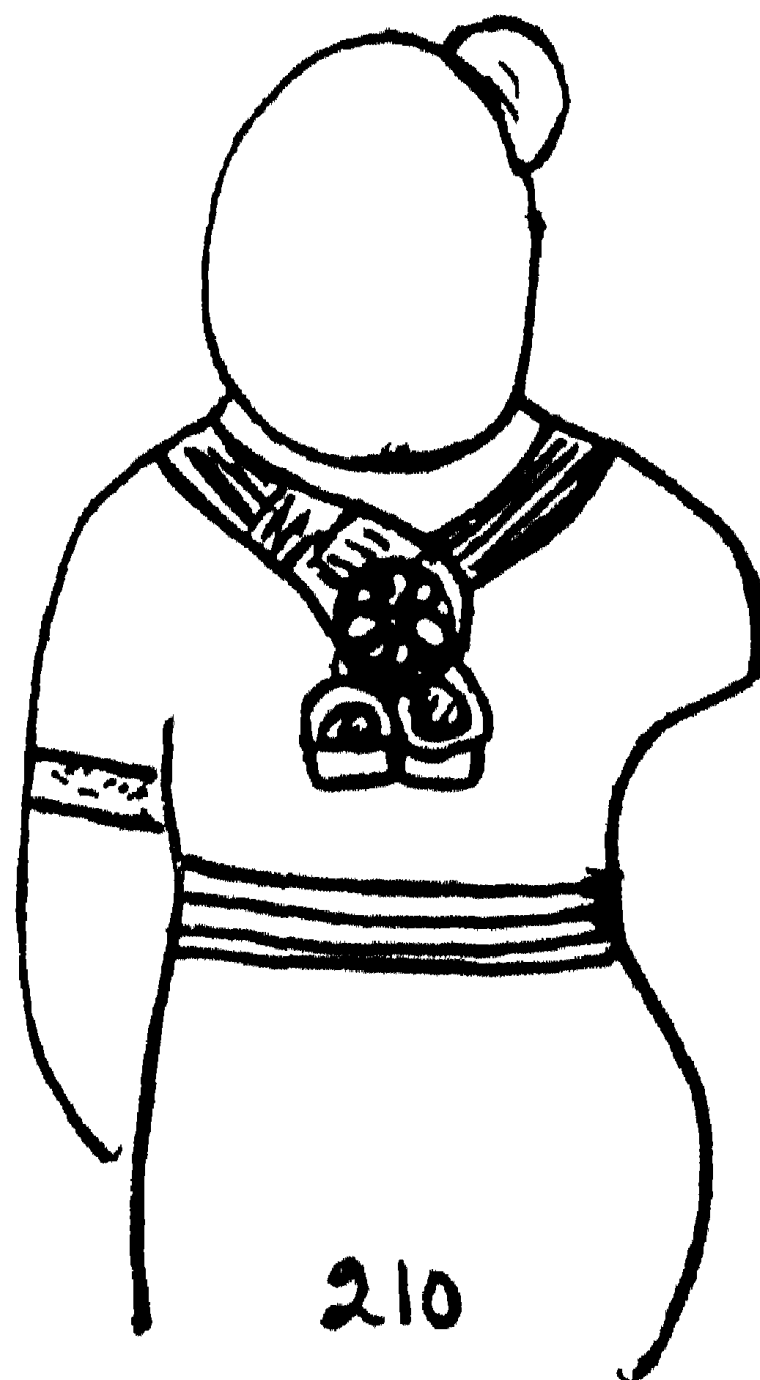
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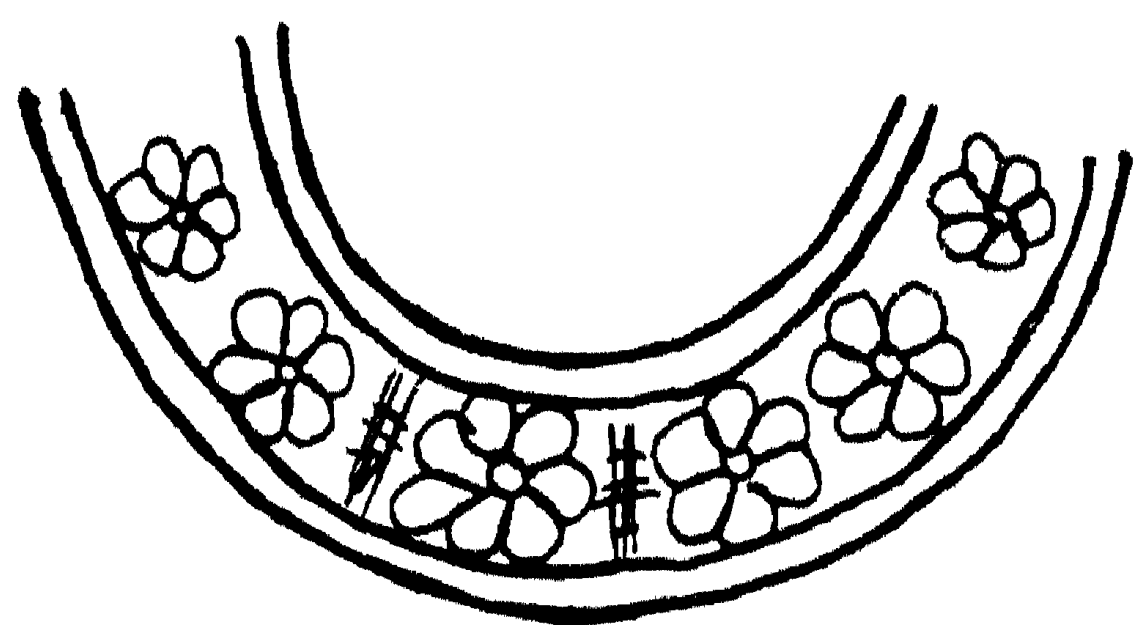
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209



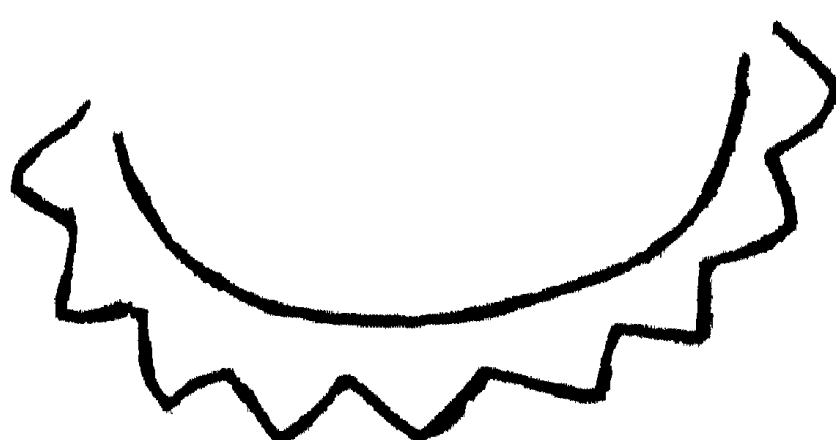
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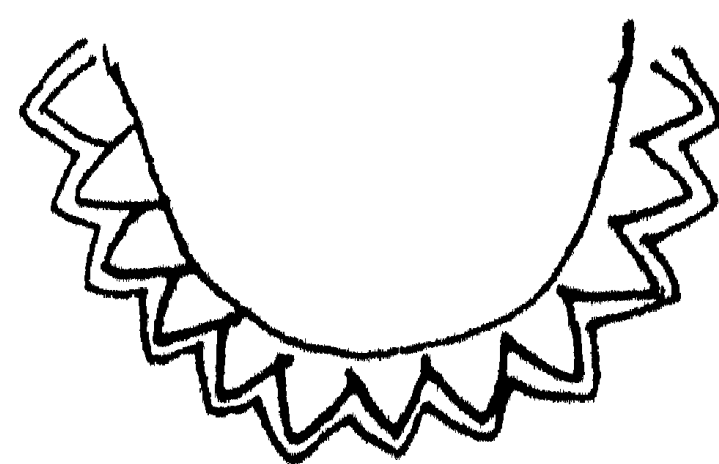
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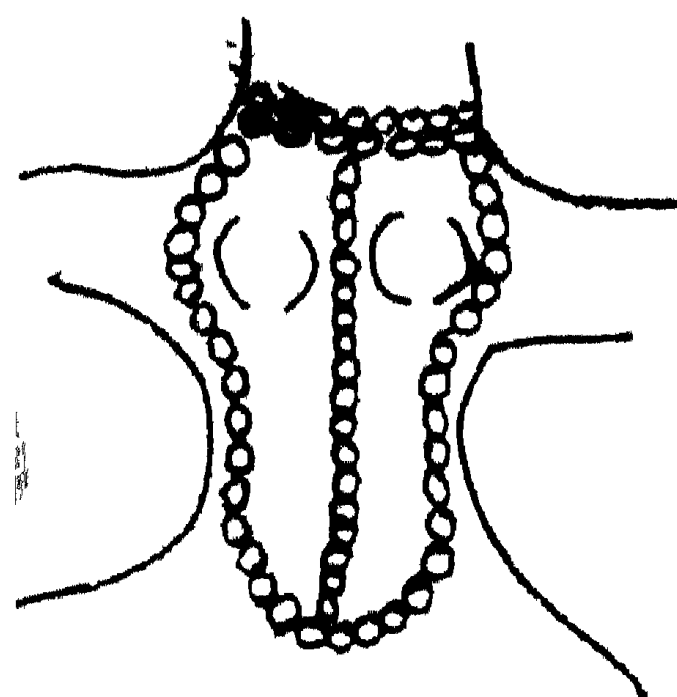
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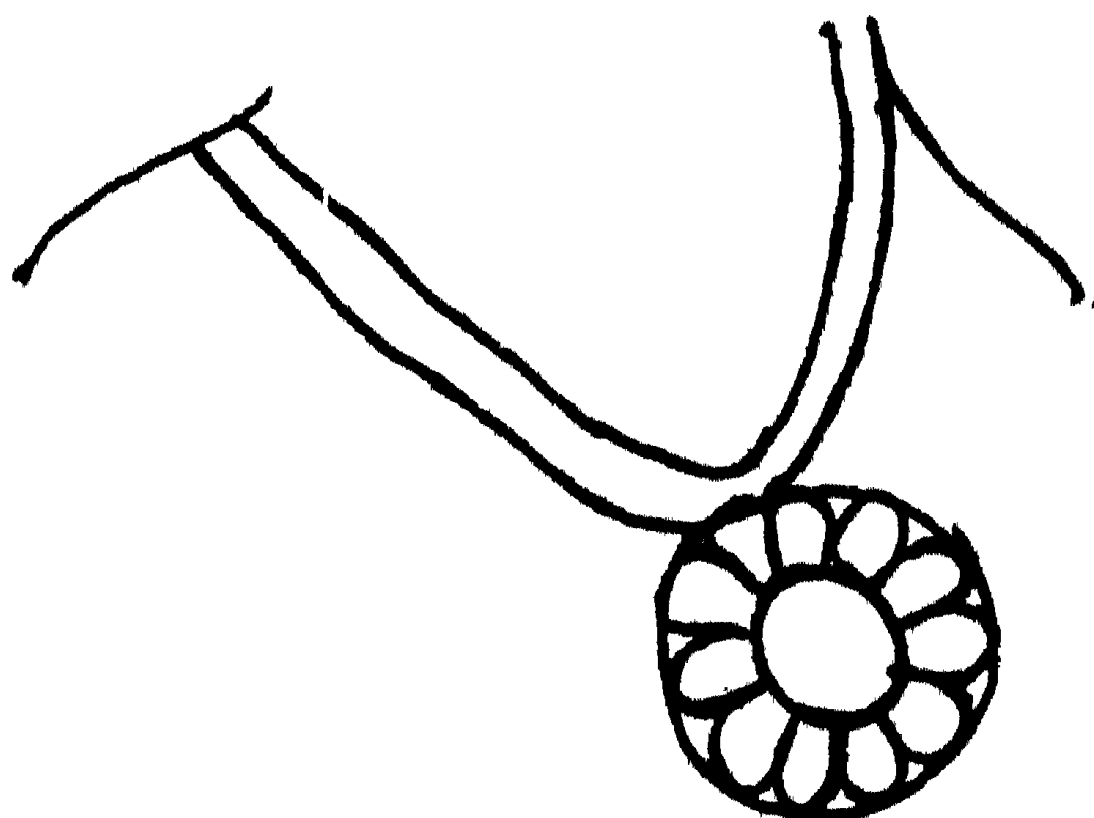
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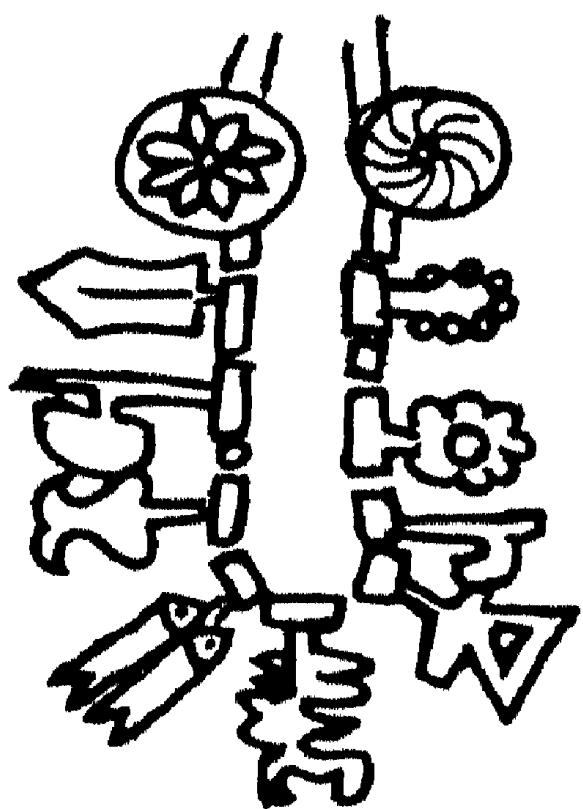
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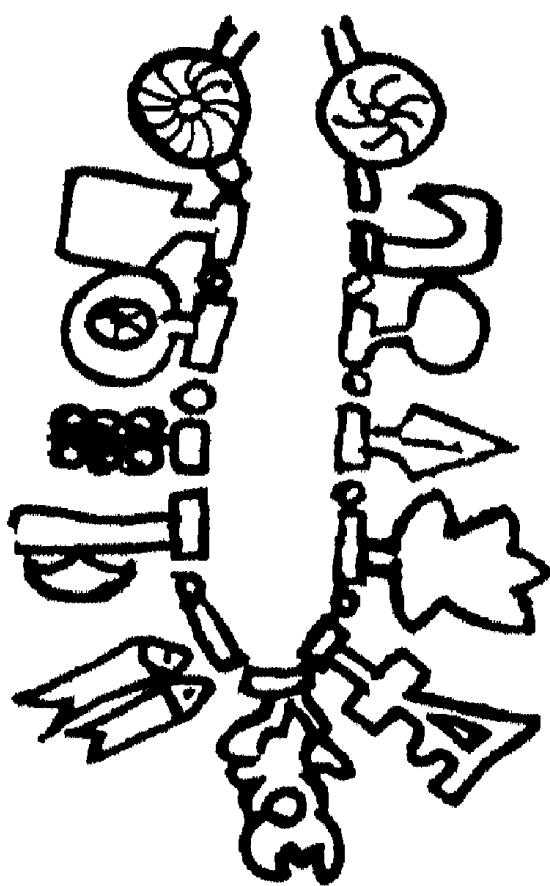
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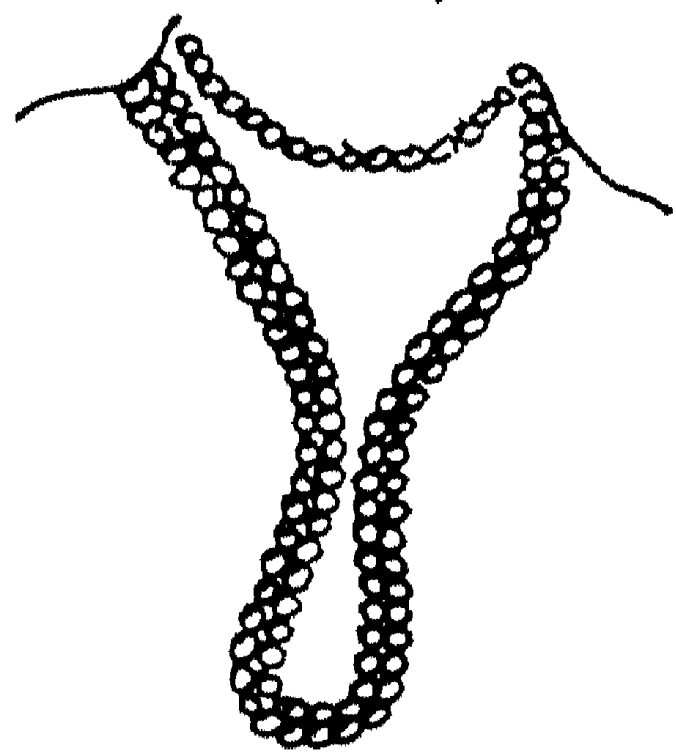
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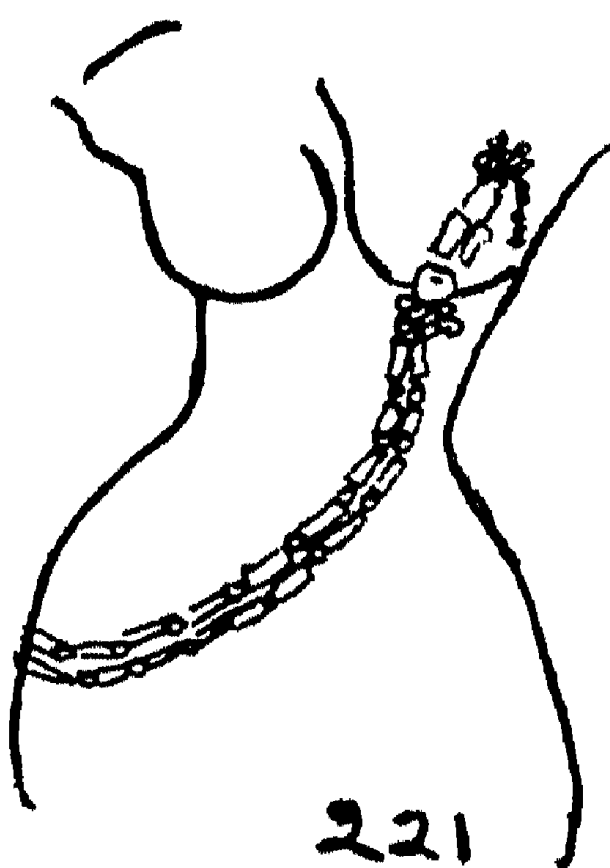
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219



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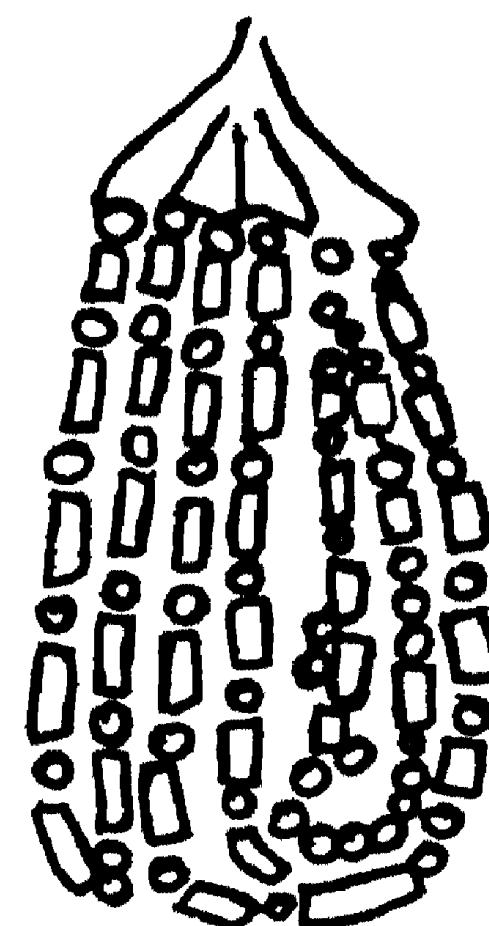
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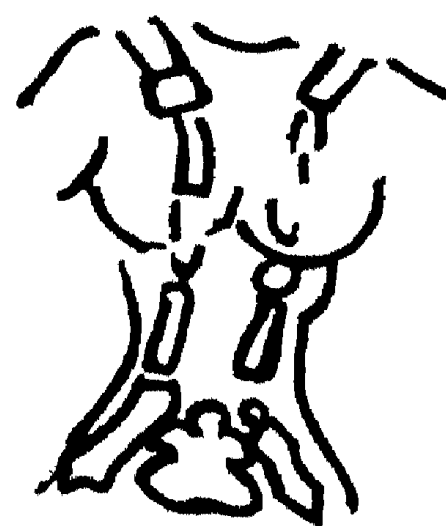
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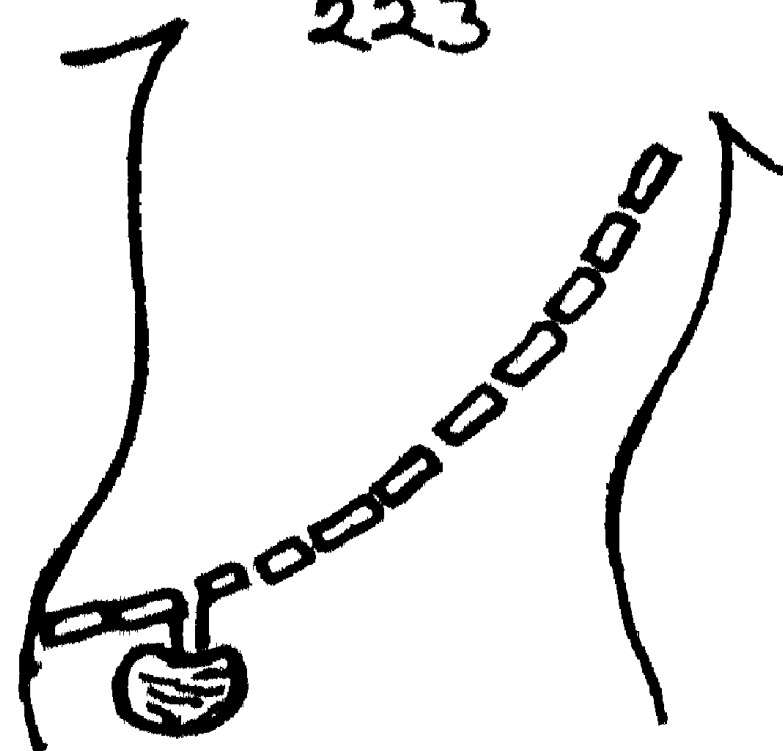
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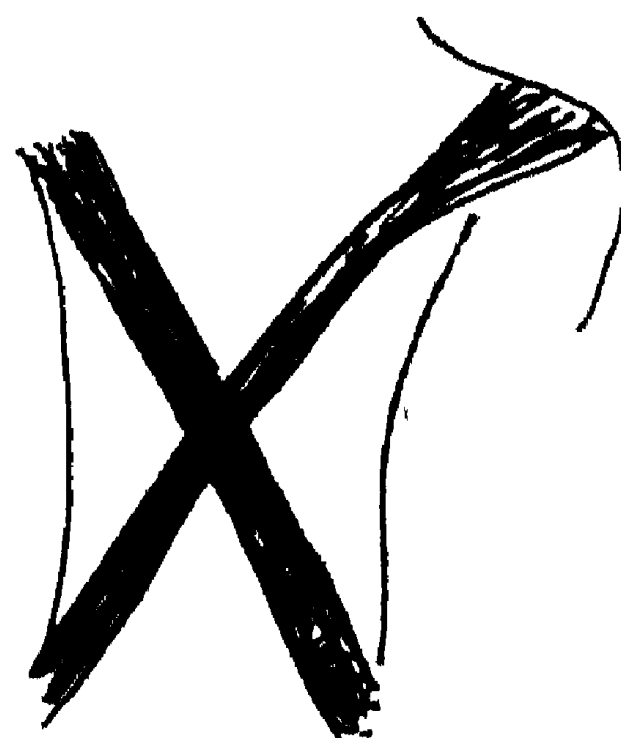
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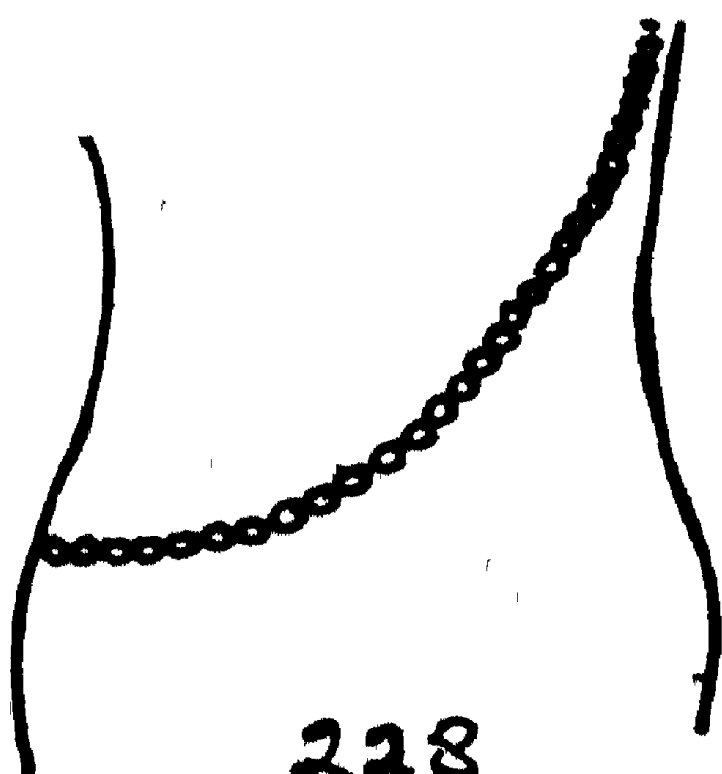
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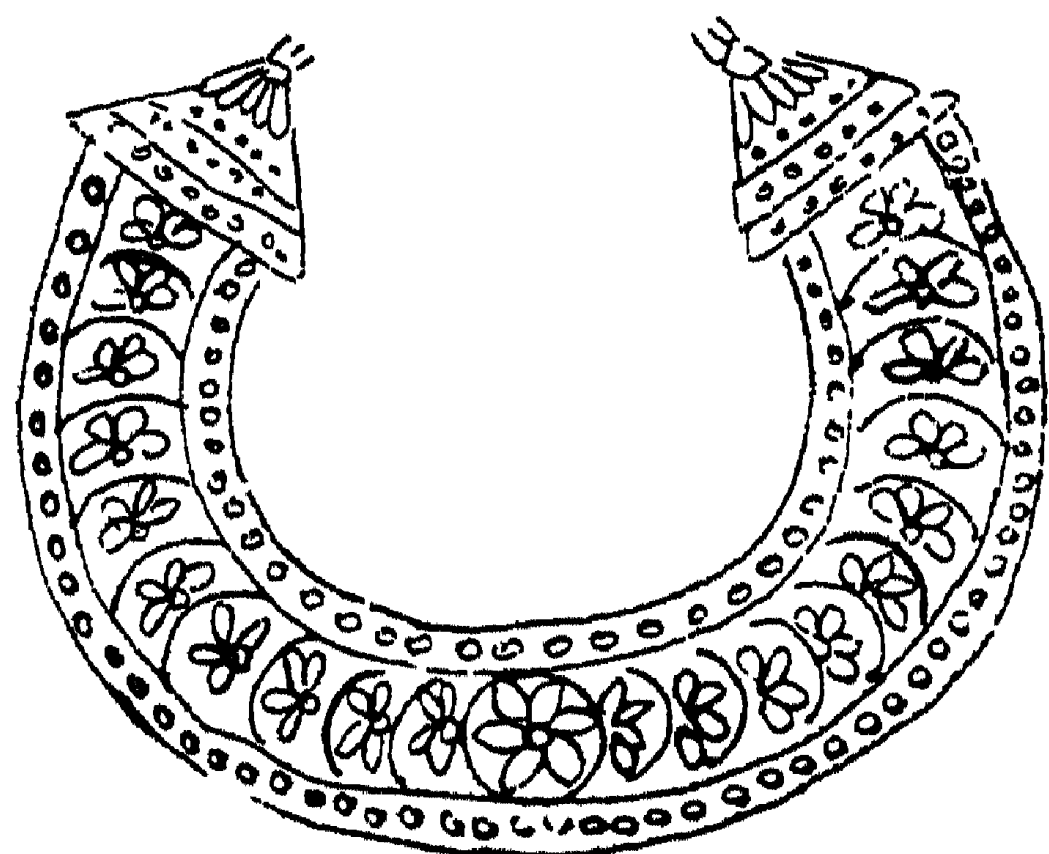
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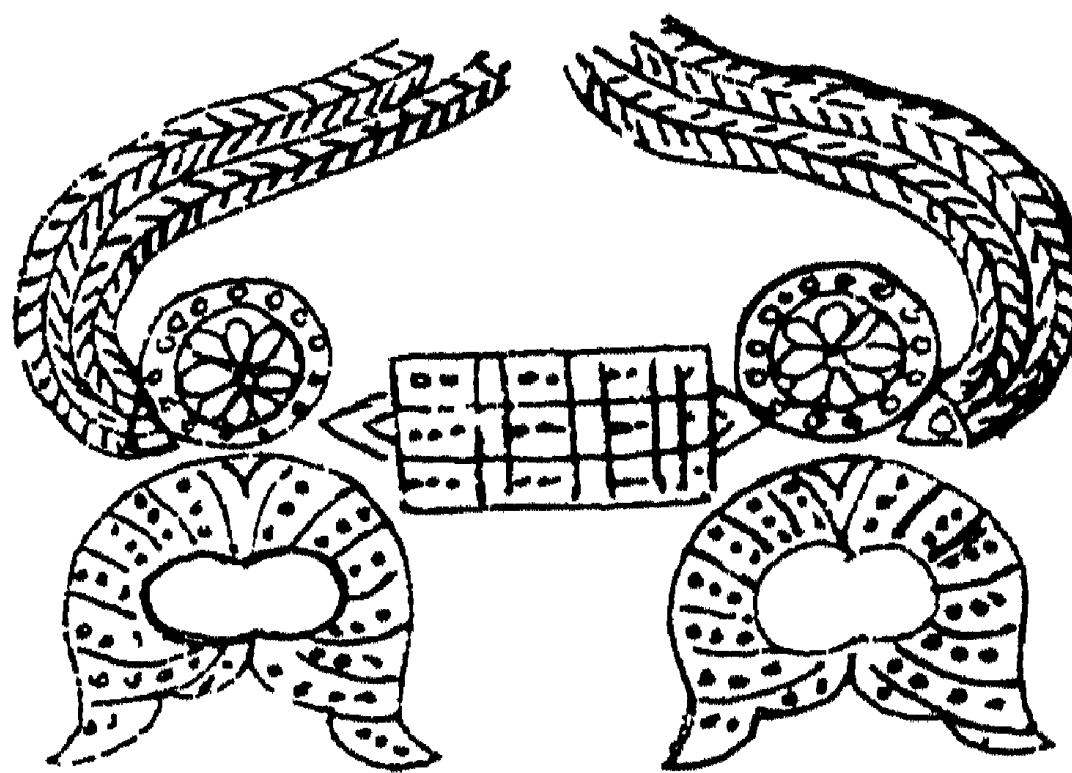
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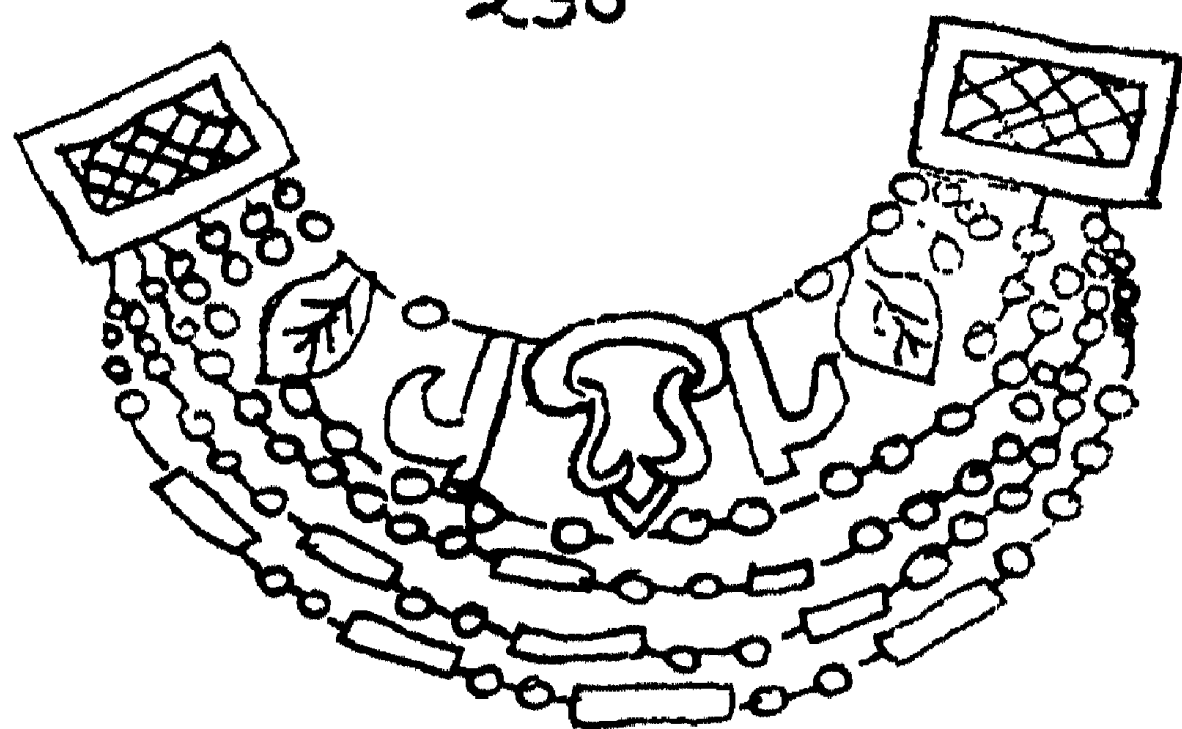
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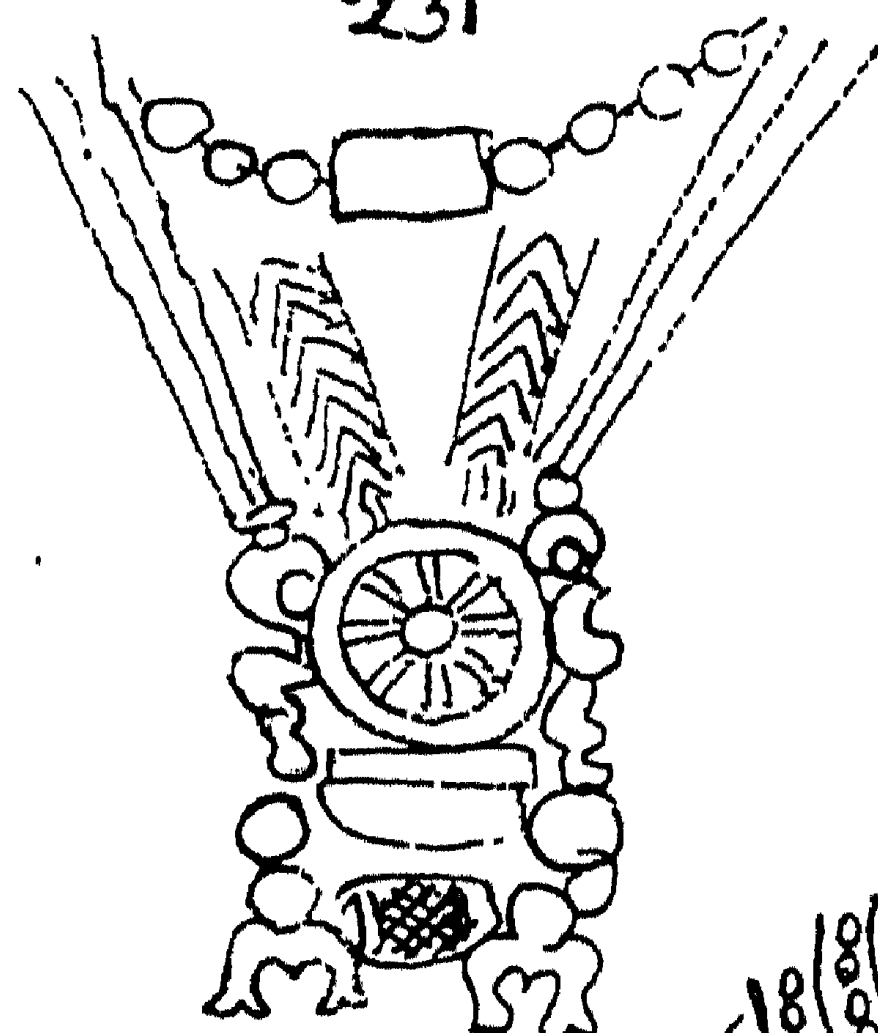
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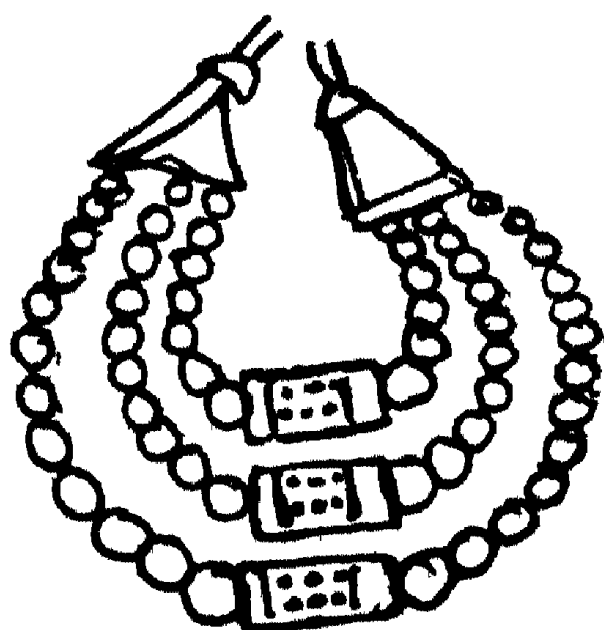
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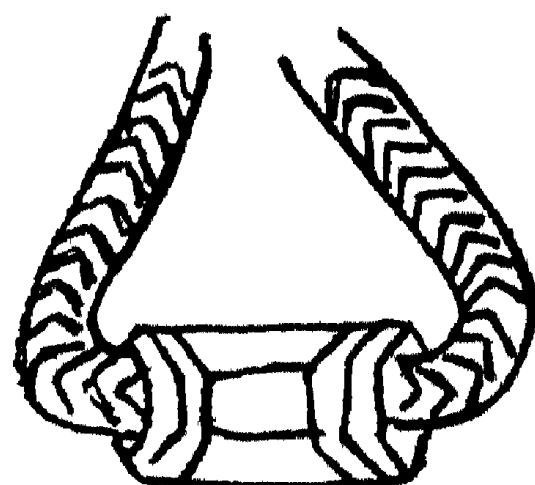
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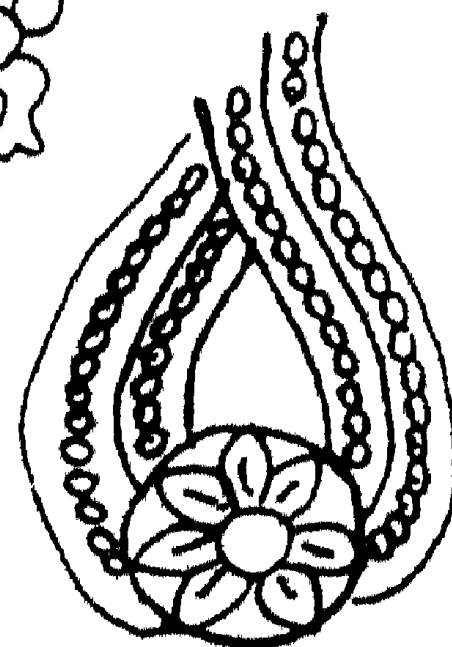
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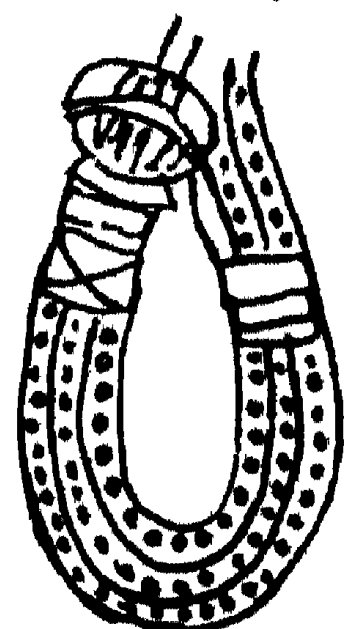
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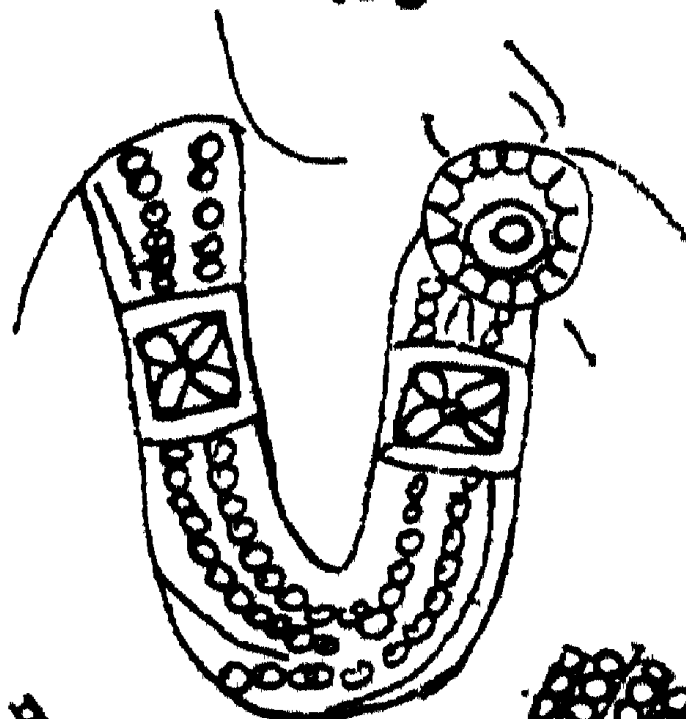
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236



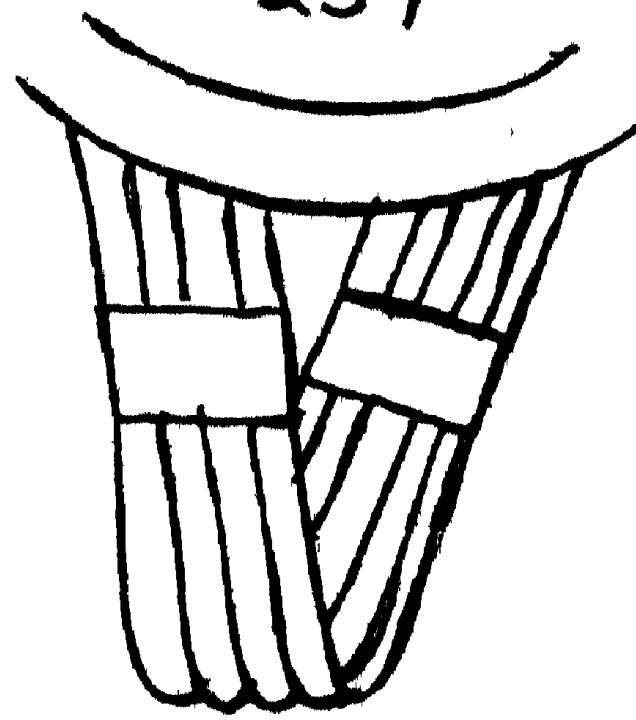
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238



239



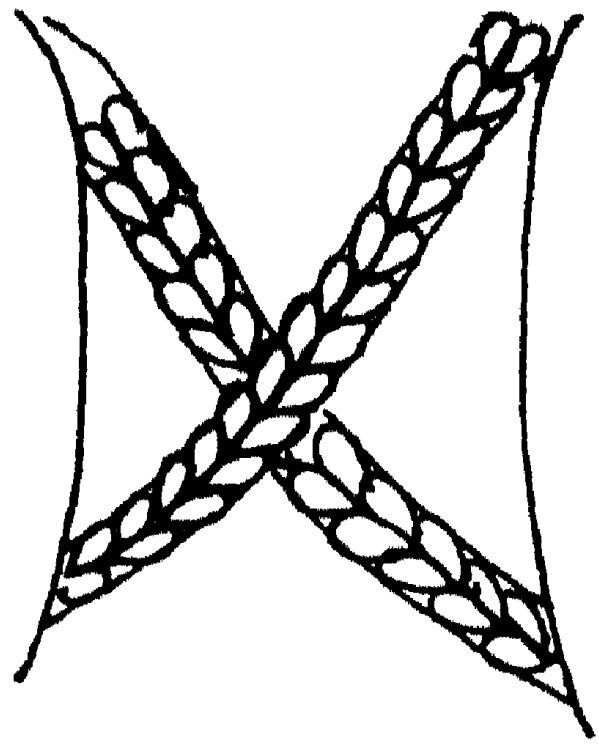
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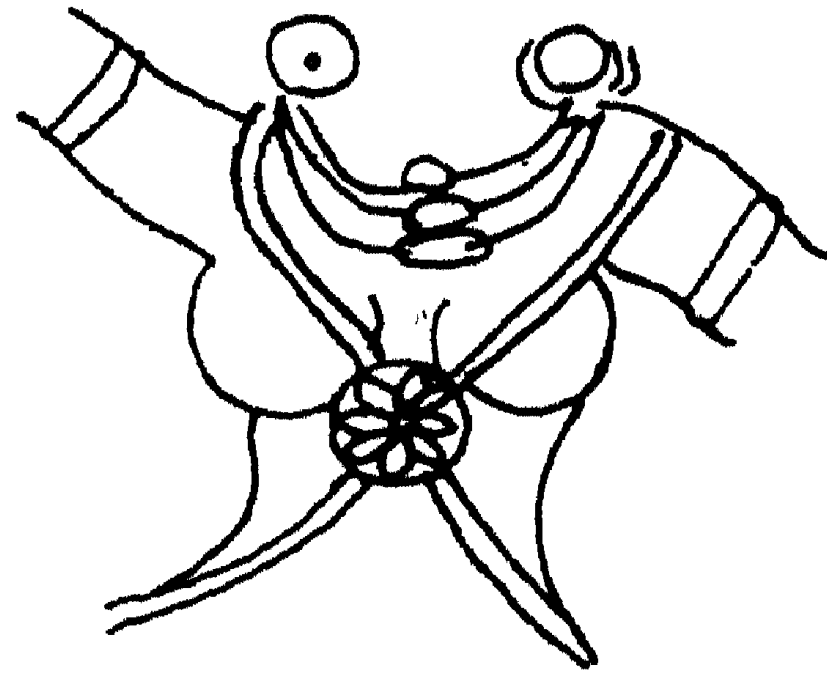
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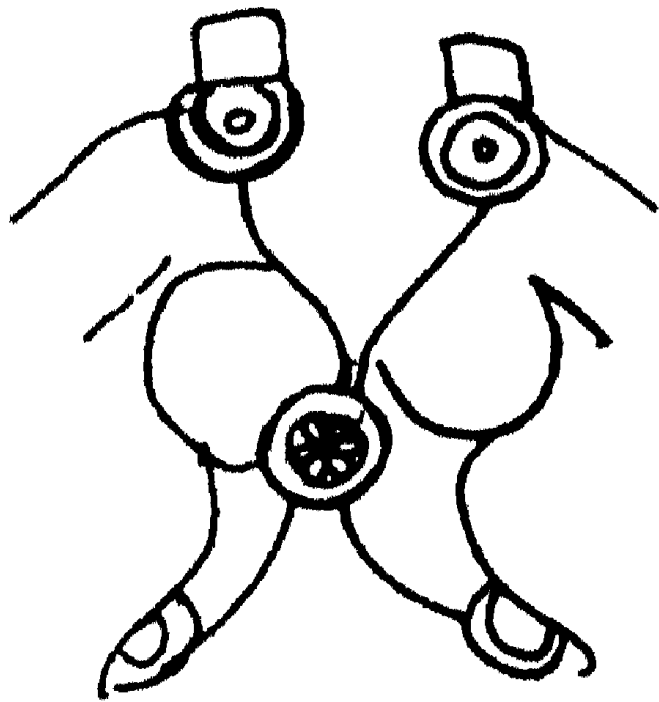
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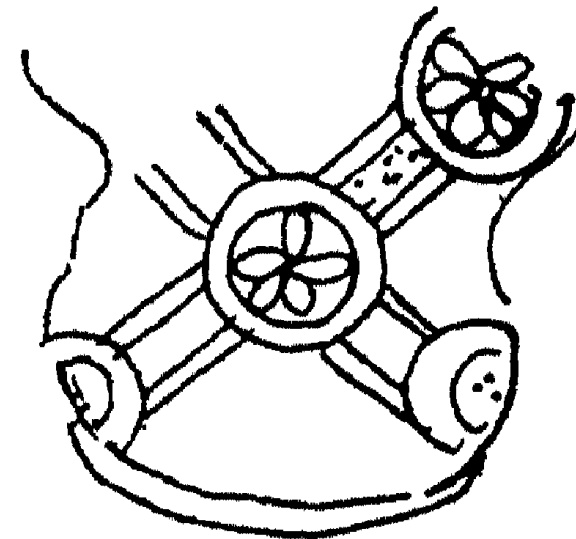
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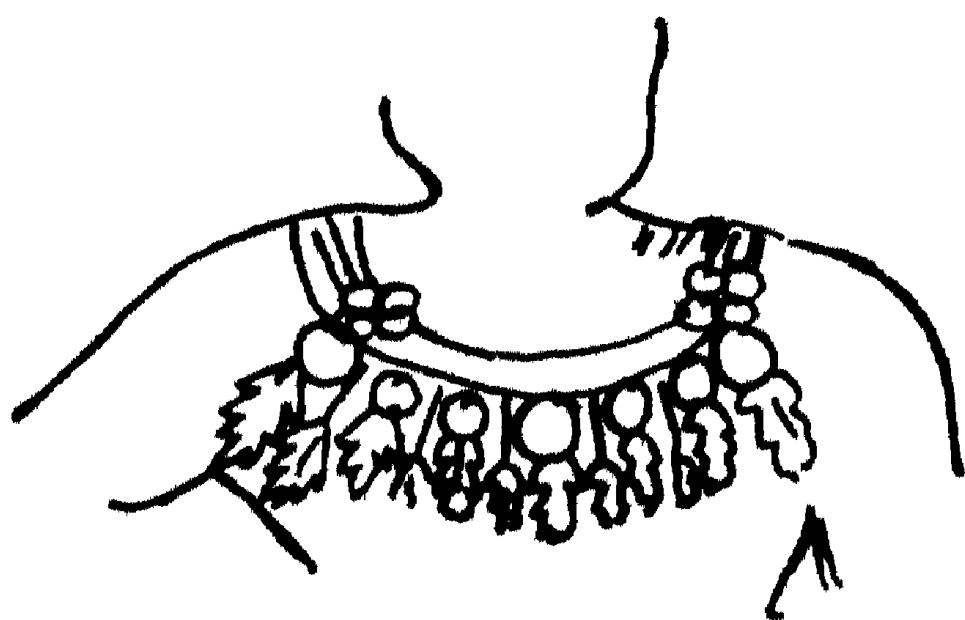
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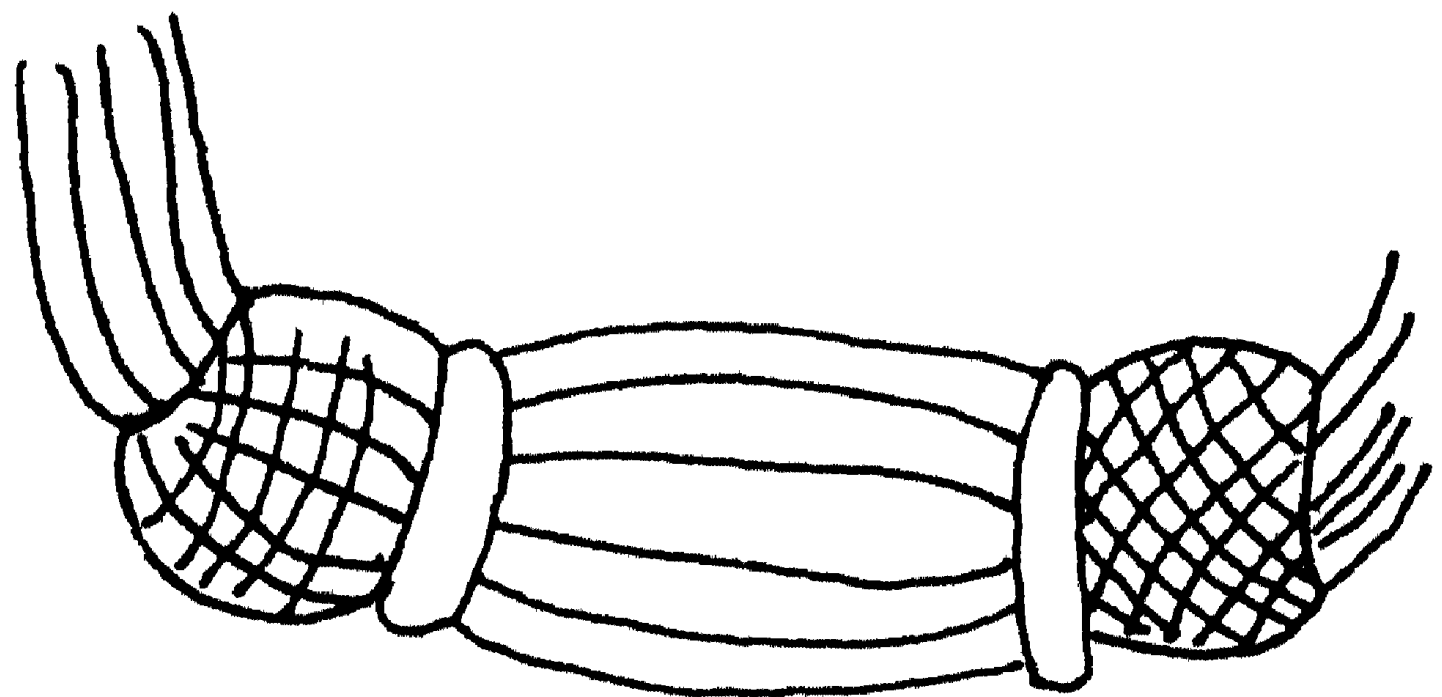
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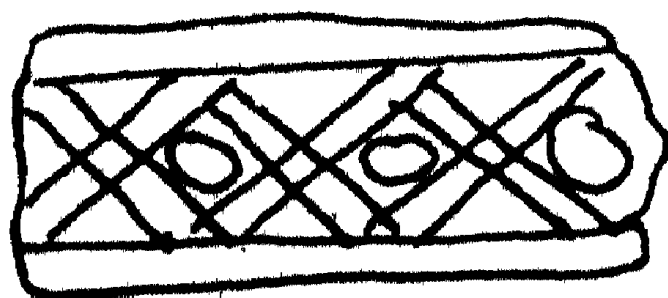
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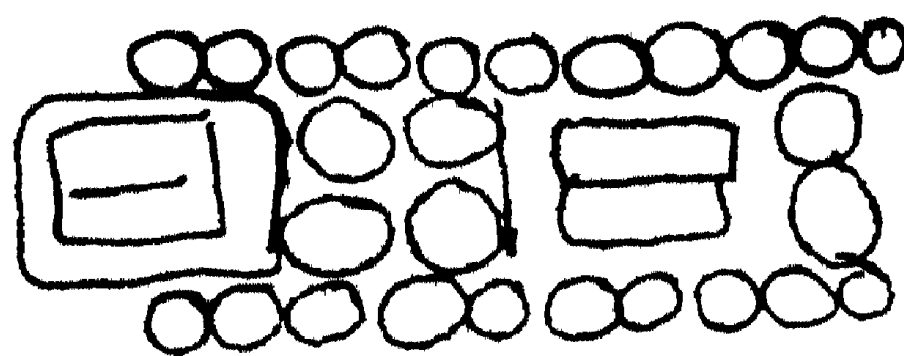
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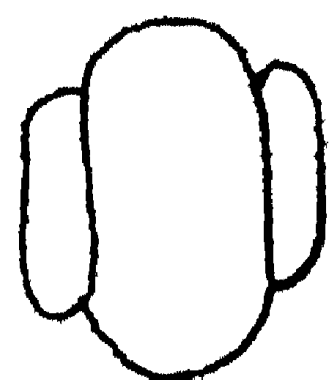
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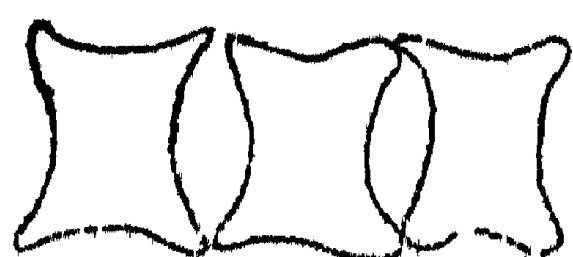
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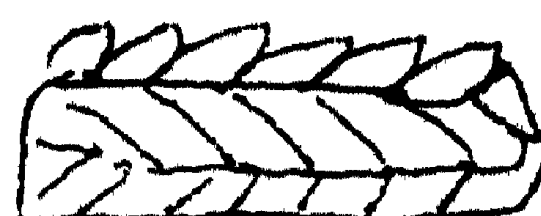
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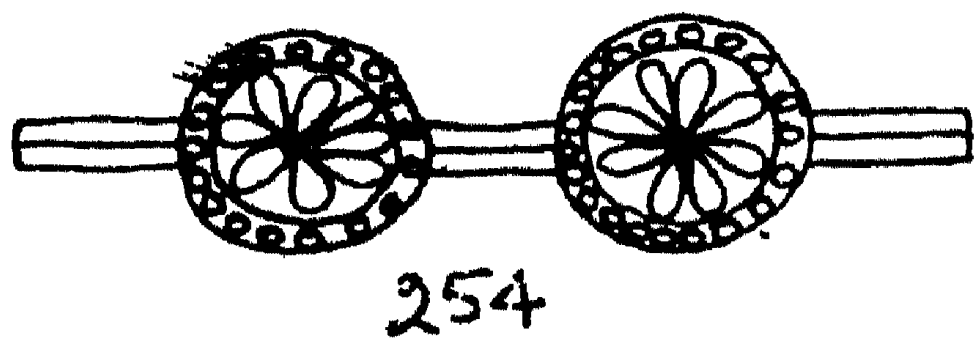
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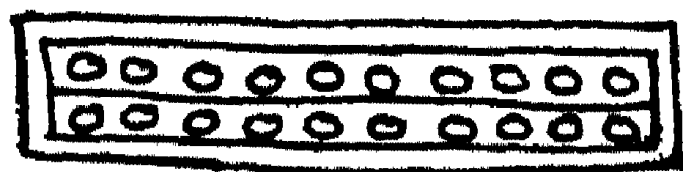
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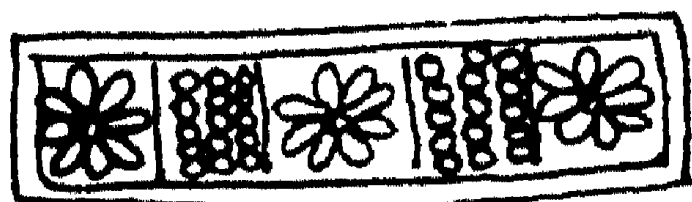
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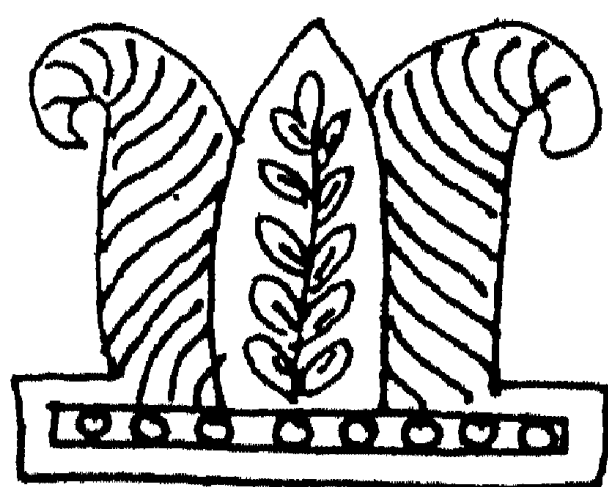
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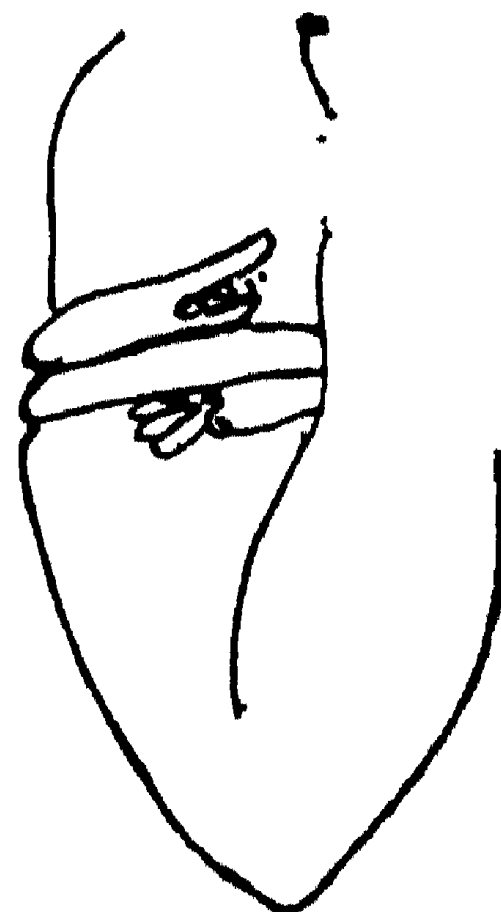
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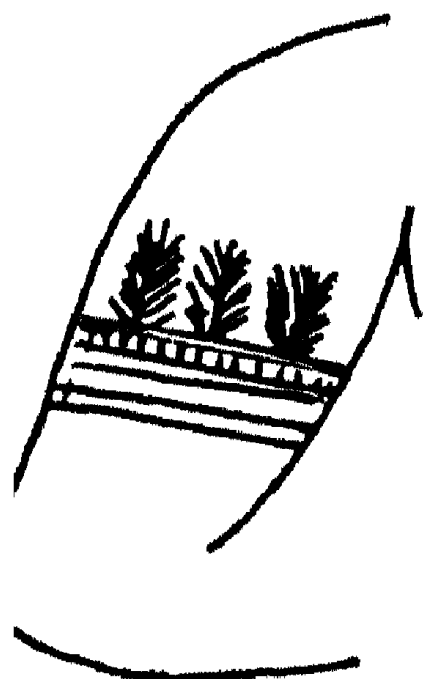
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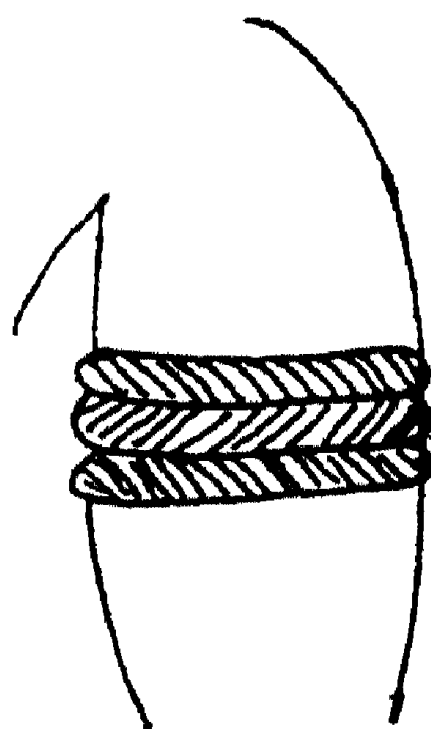
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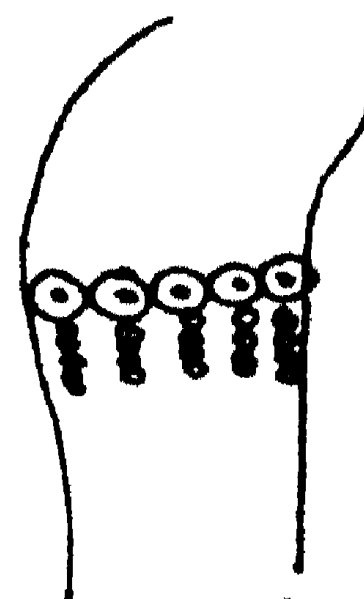
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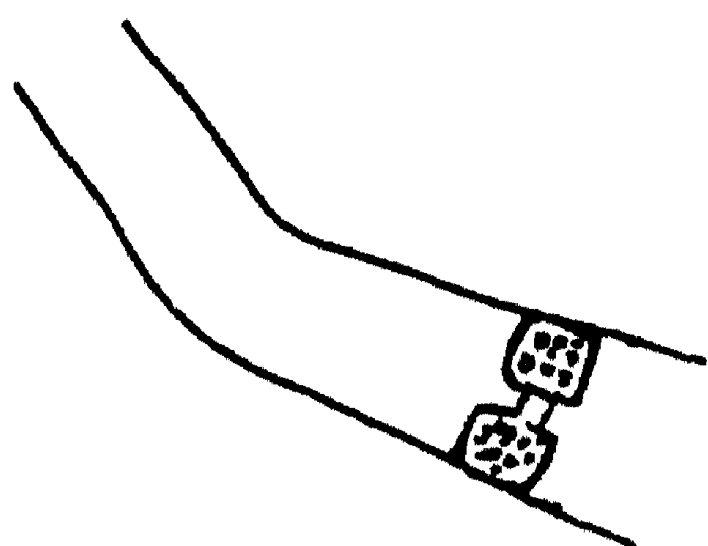
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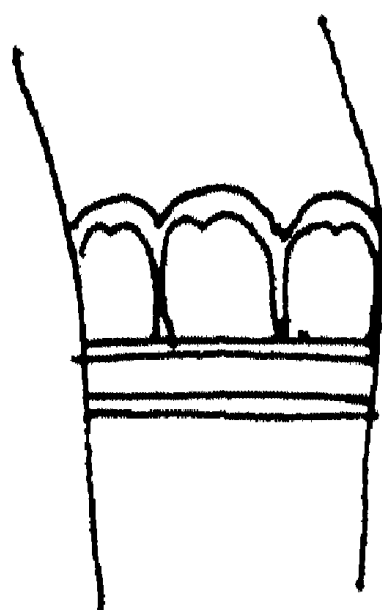
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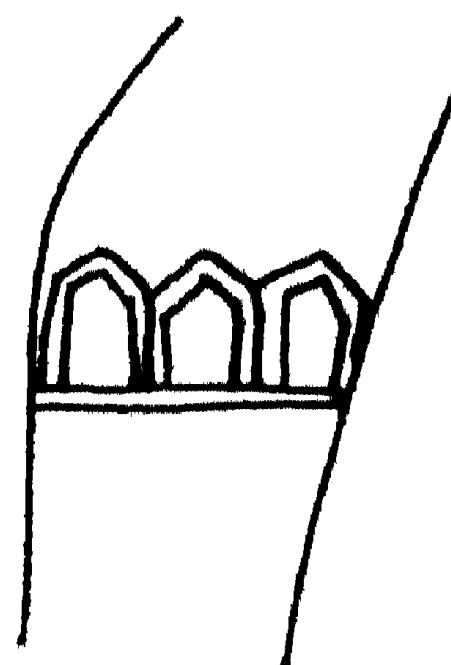
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264



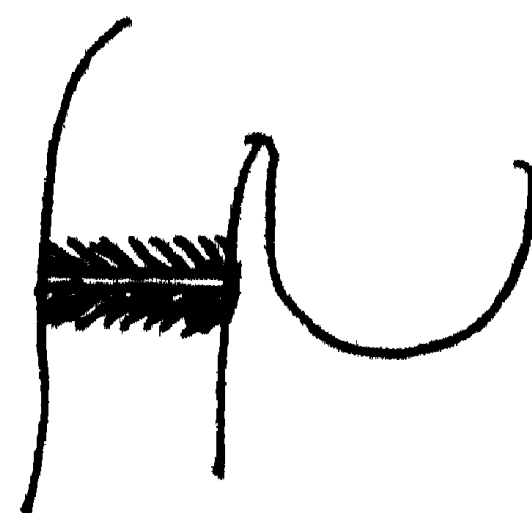
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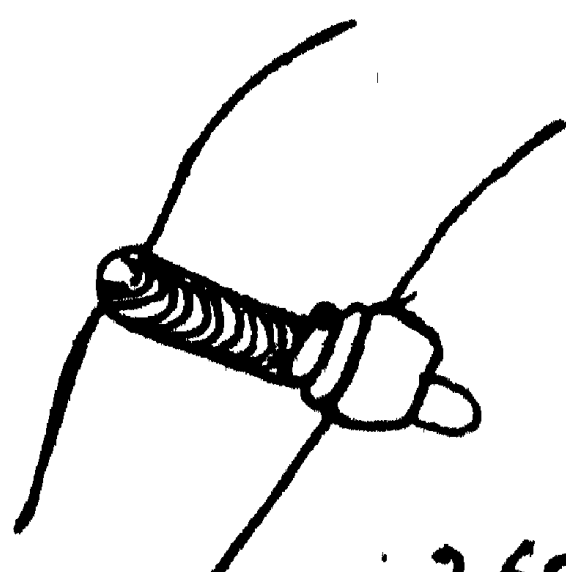
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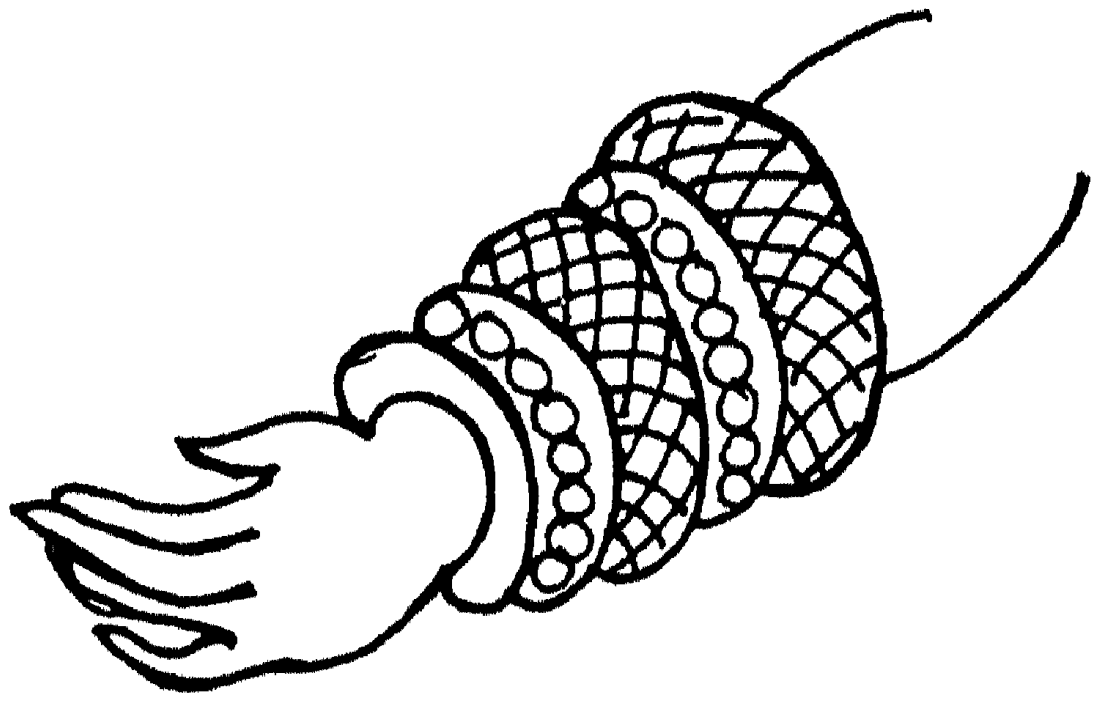
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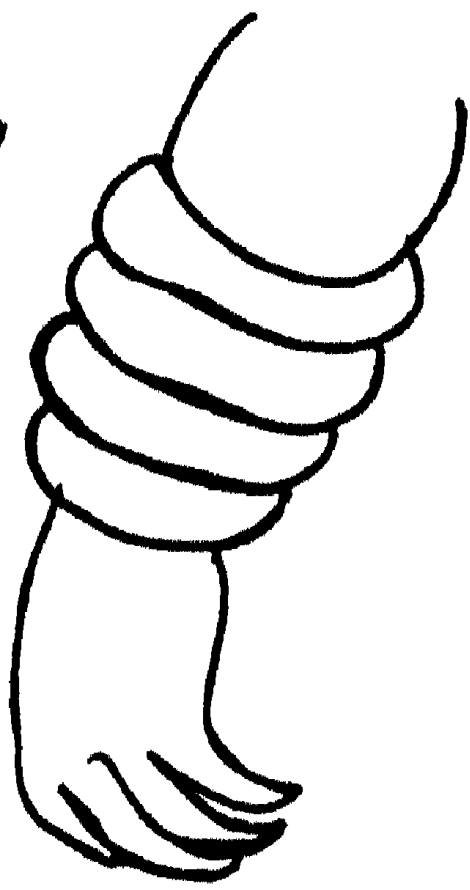
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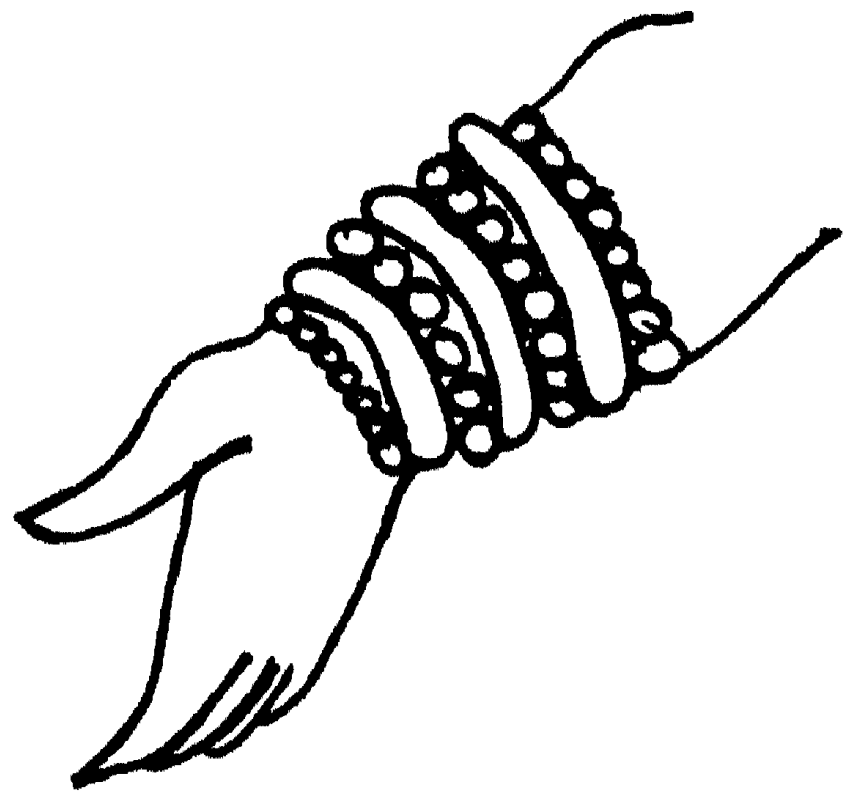
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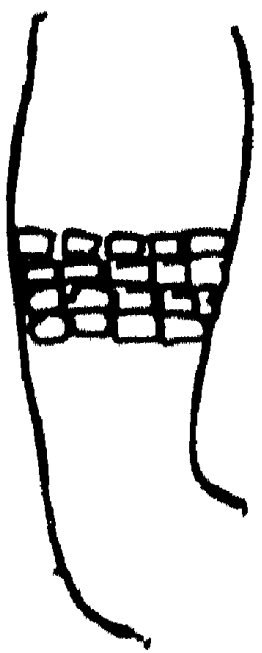
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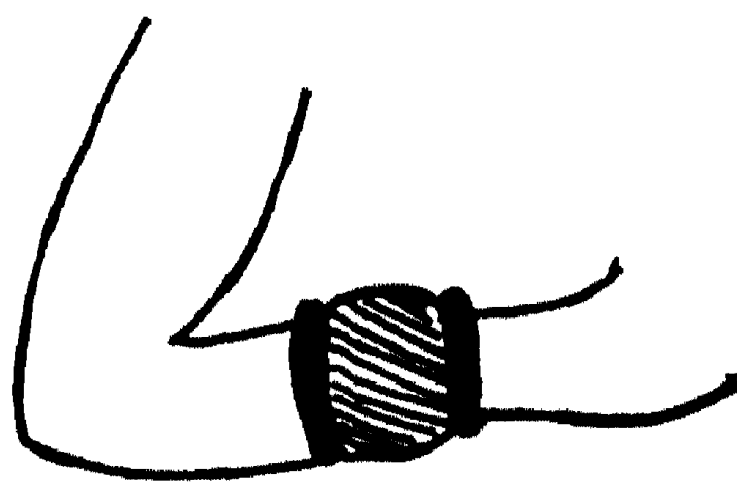
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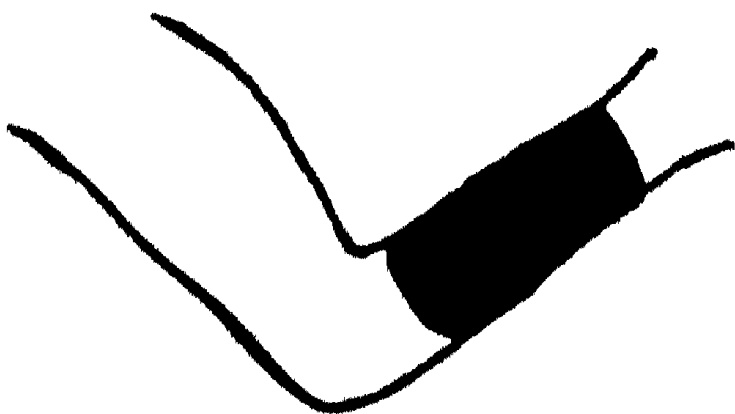
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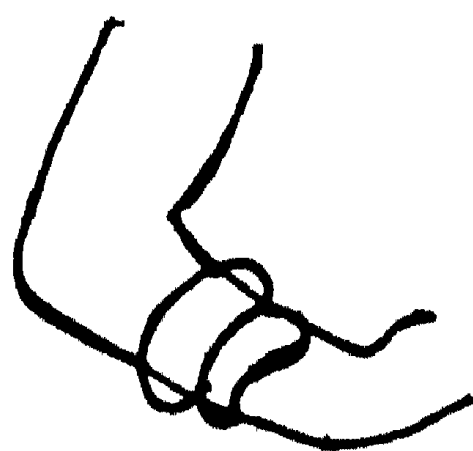
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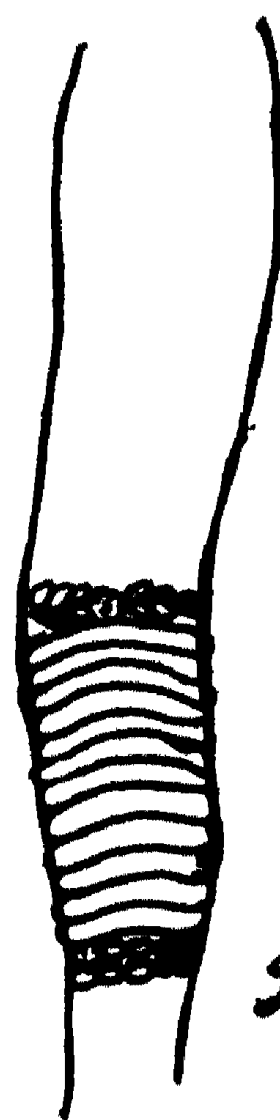
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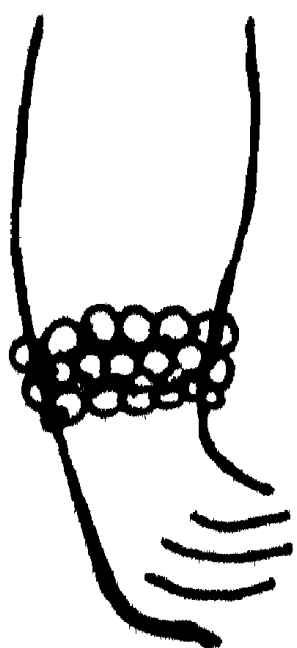
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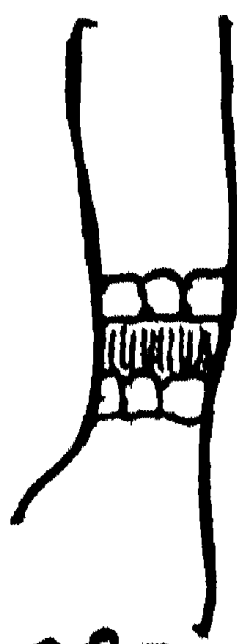
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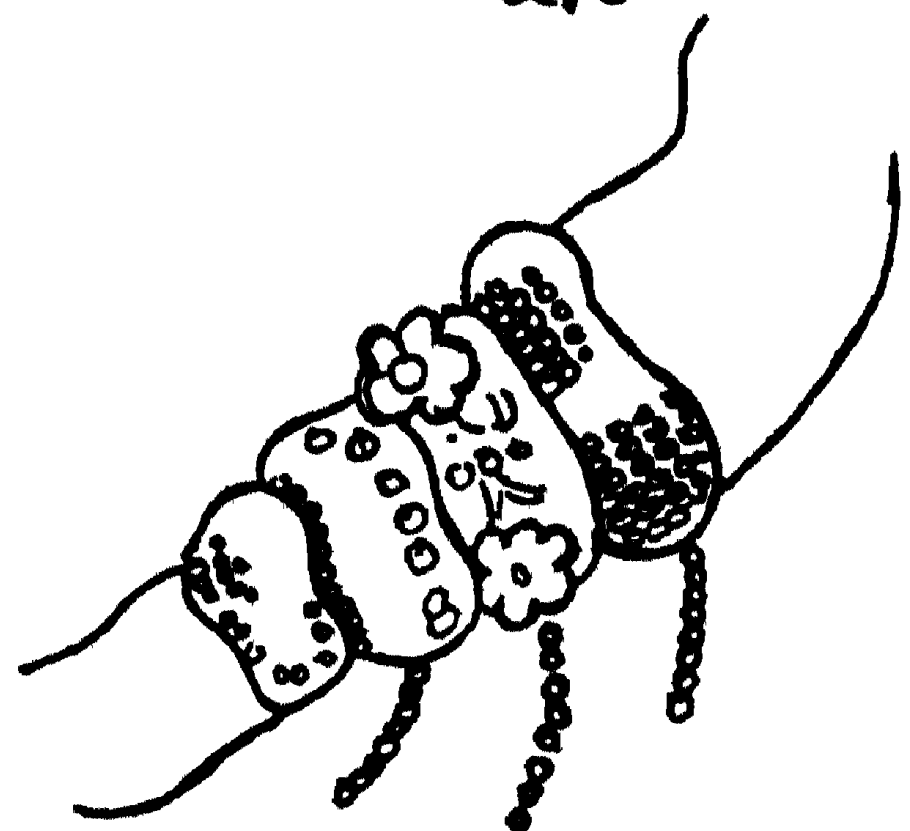
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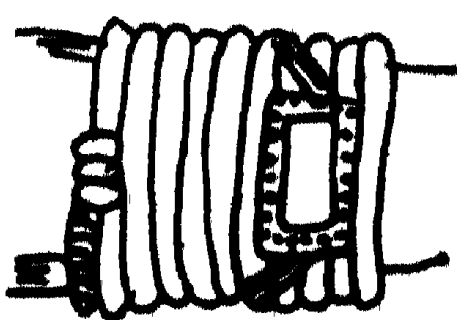
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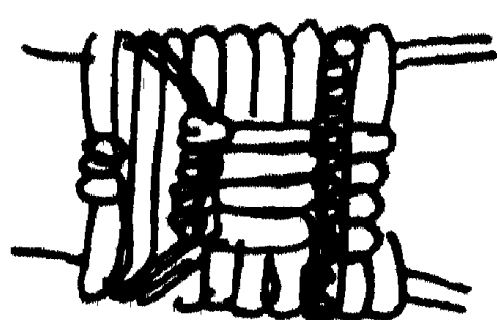
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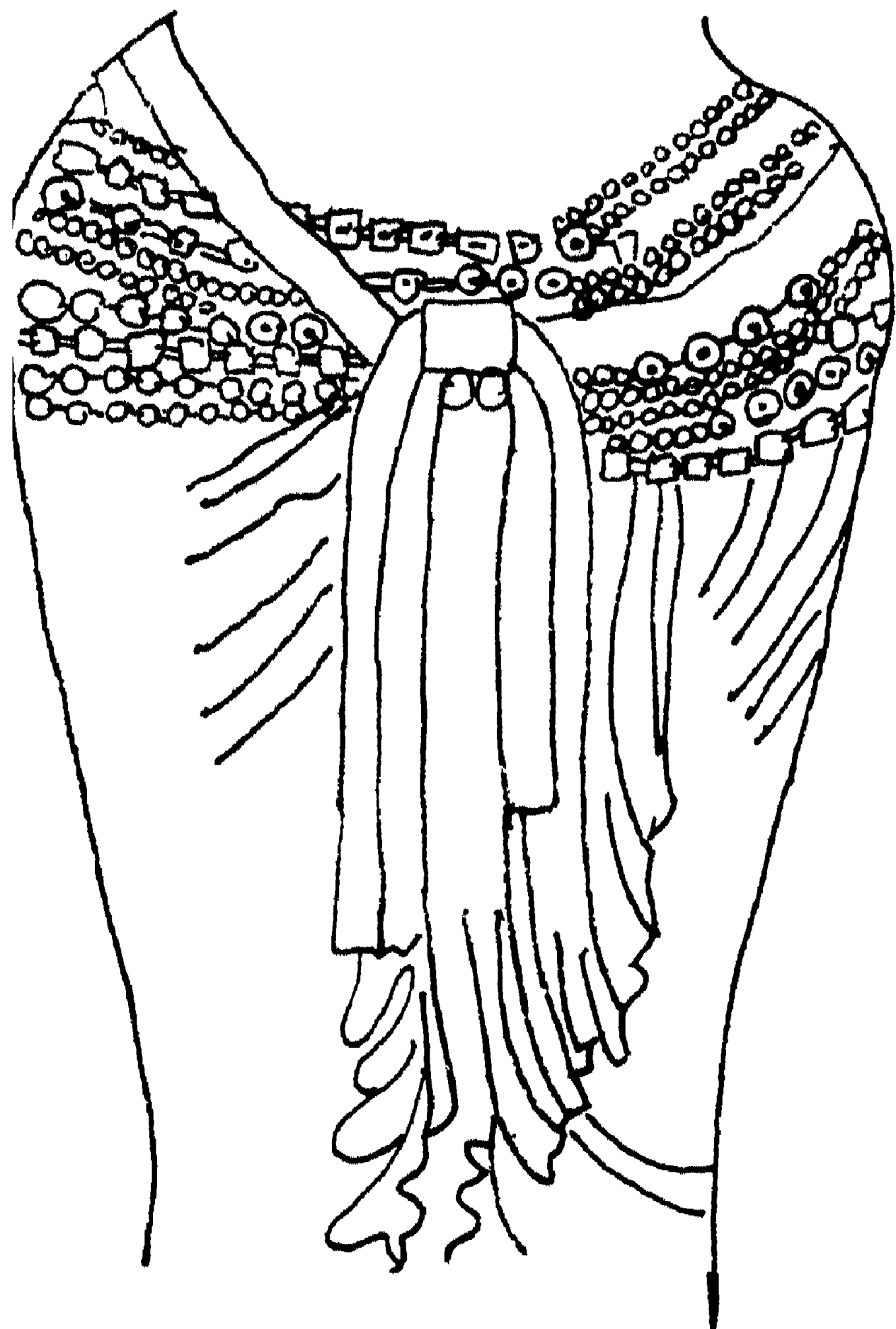
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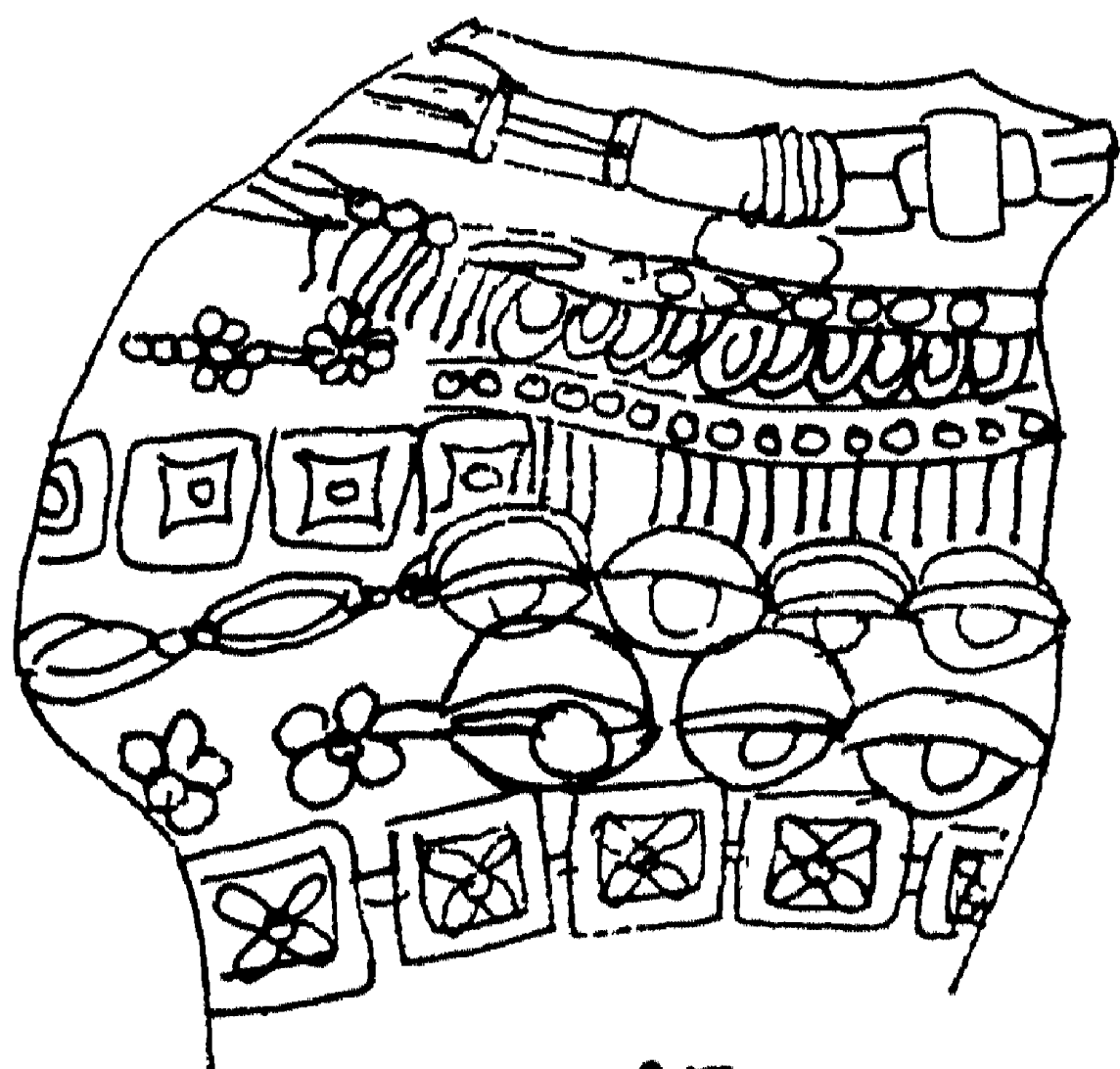
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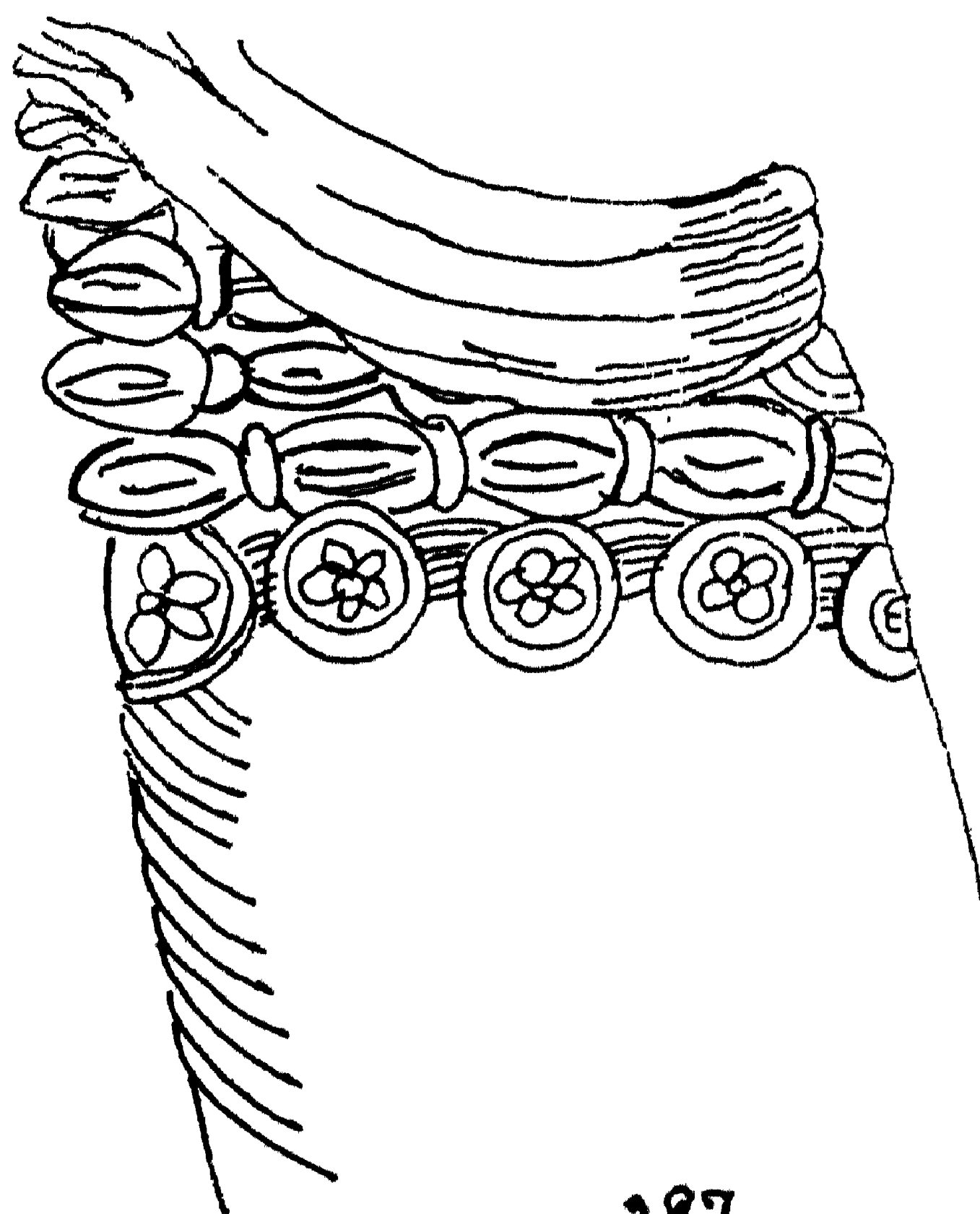
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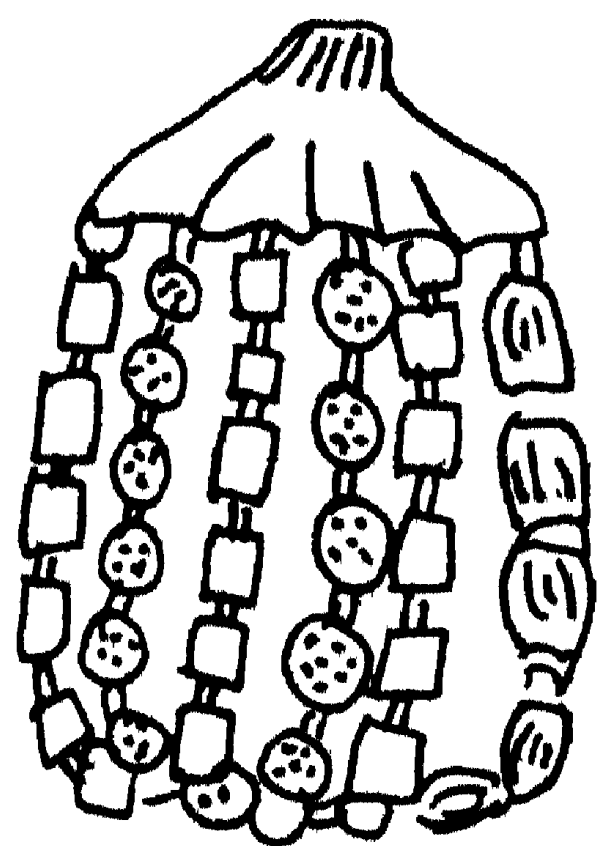
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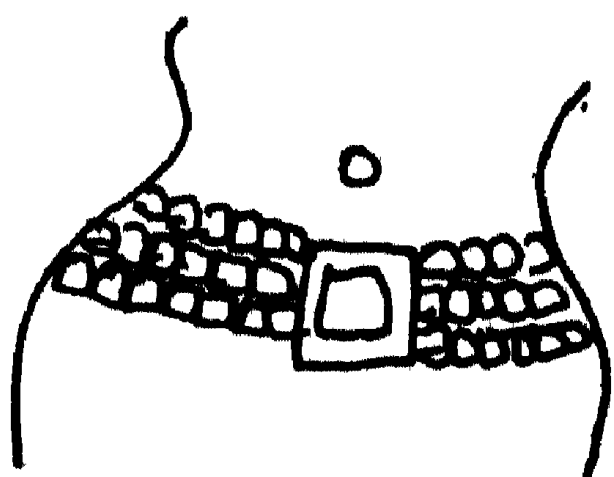
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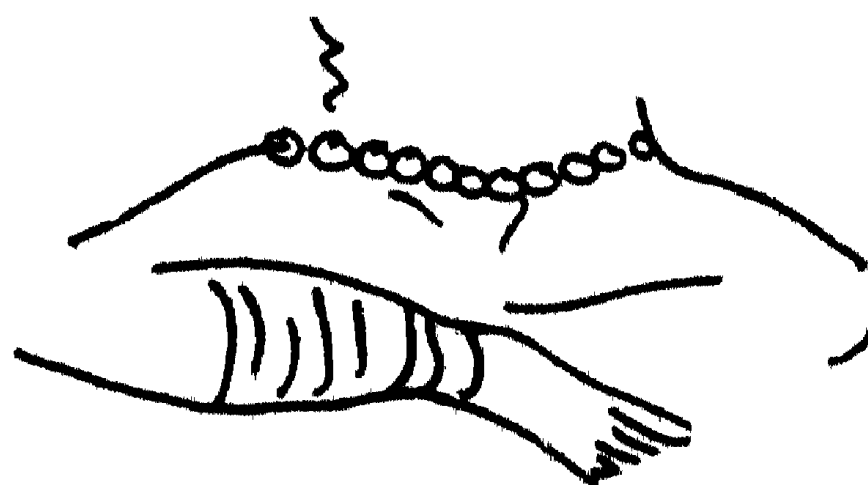
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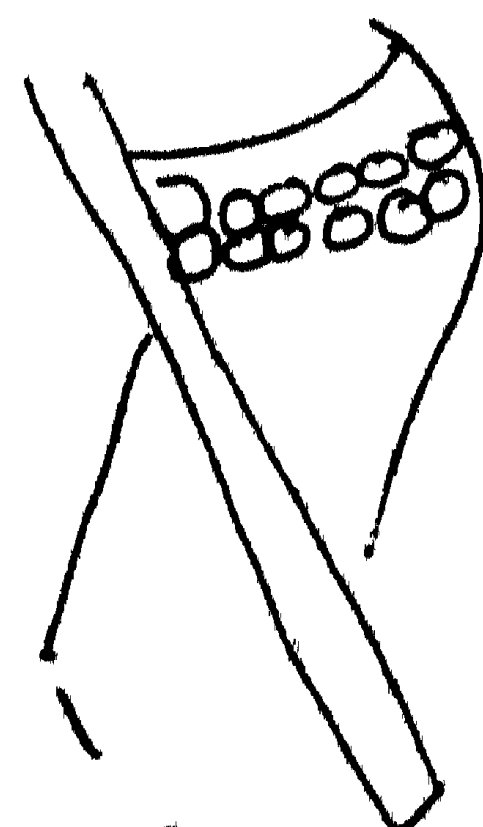
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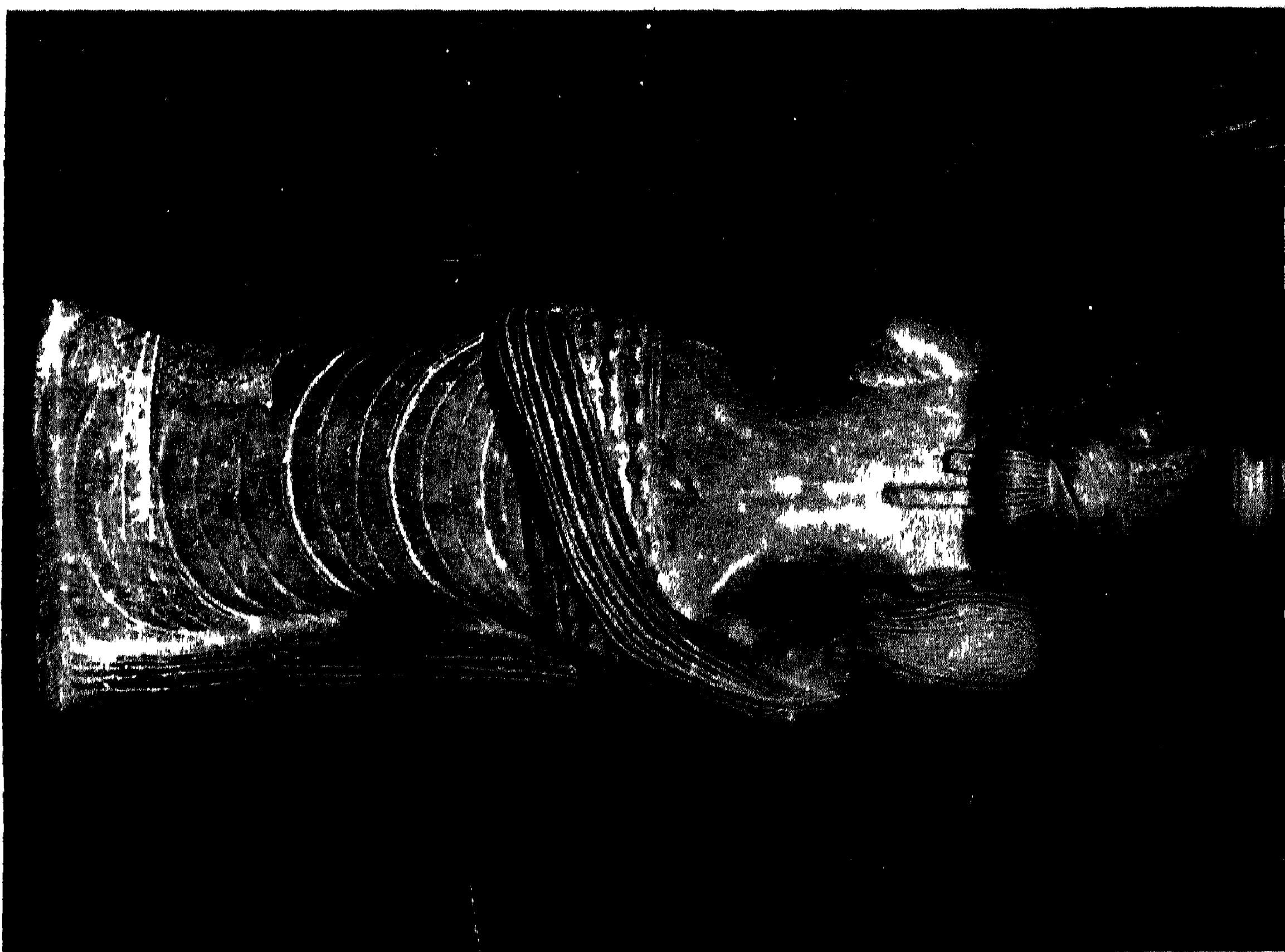


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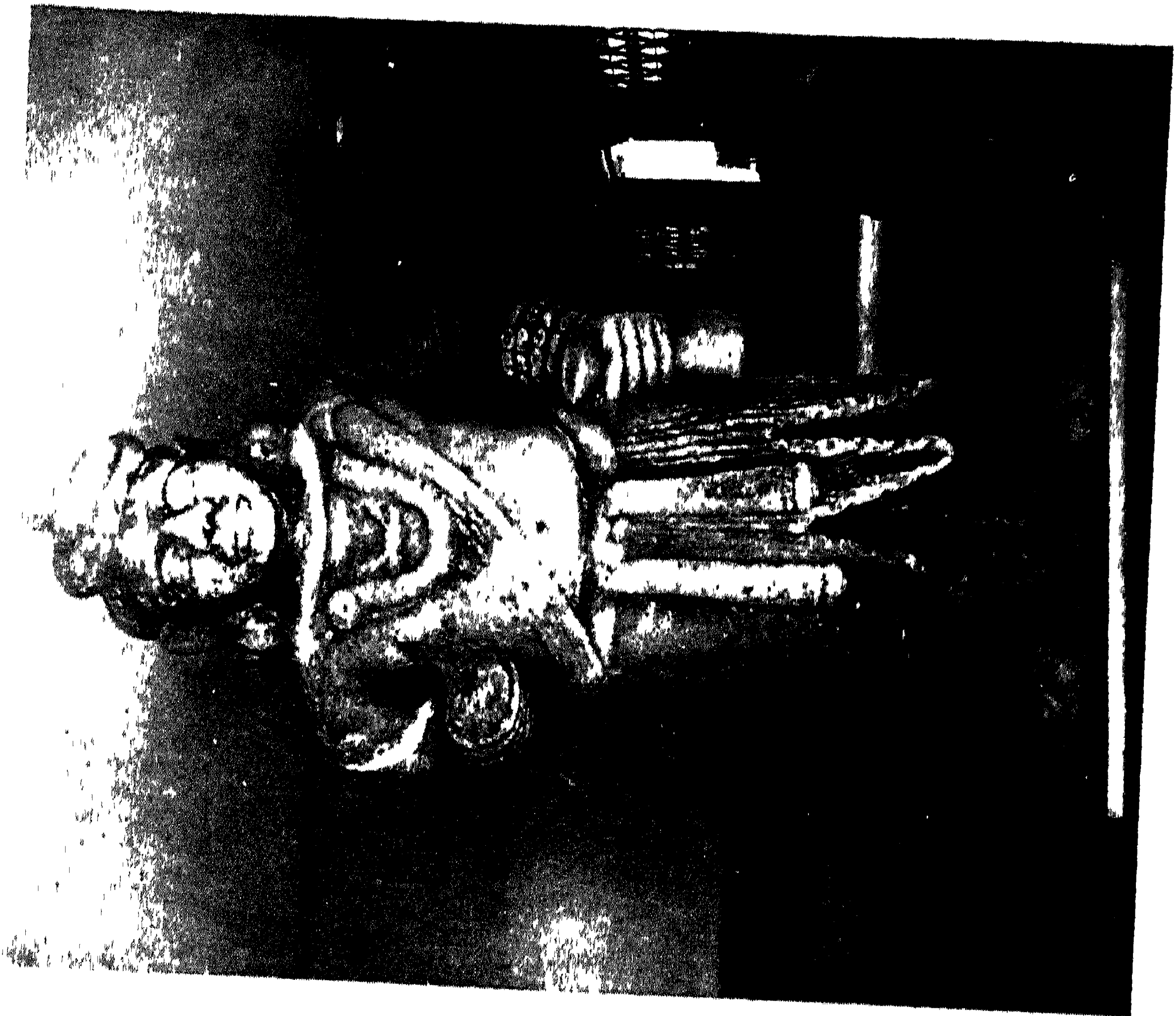
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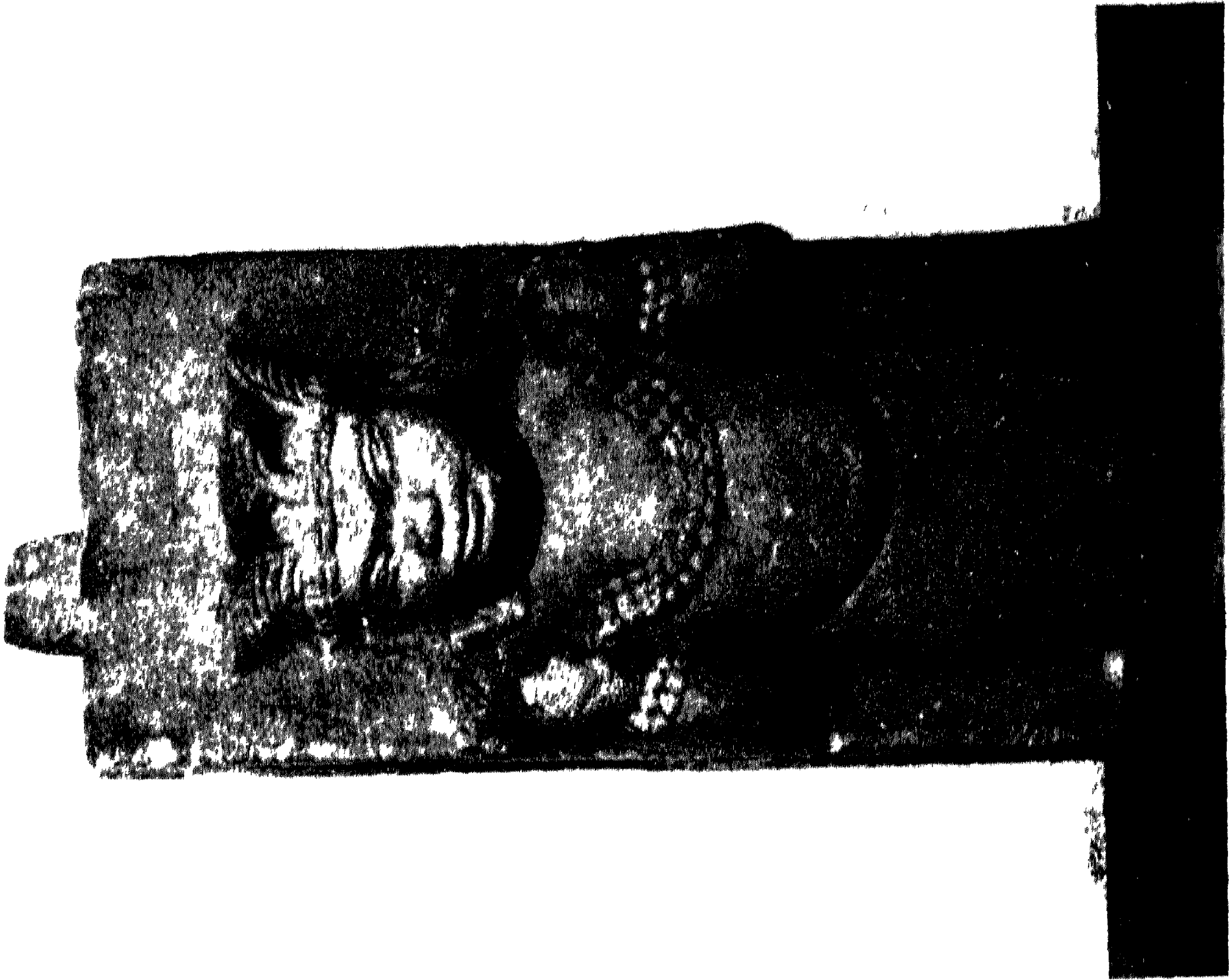


VII



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 चैवराधादी पुरुष
 प्राप्तिरामान — अज्ञान — ई. प. द्वासी शरी

VIII



IX





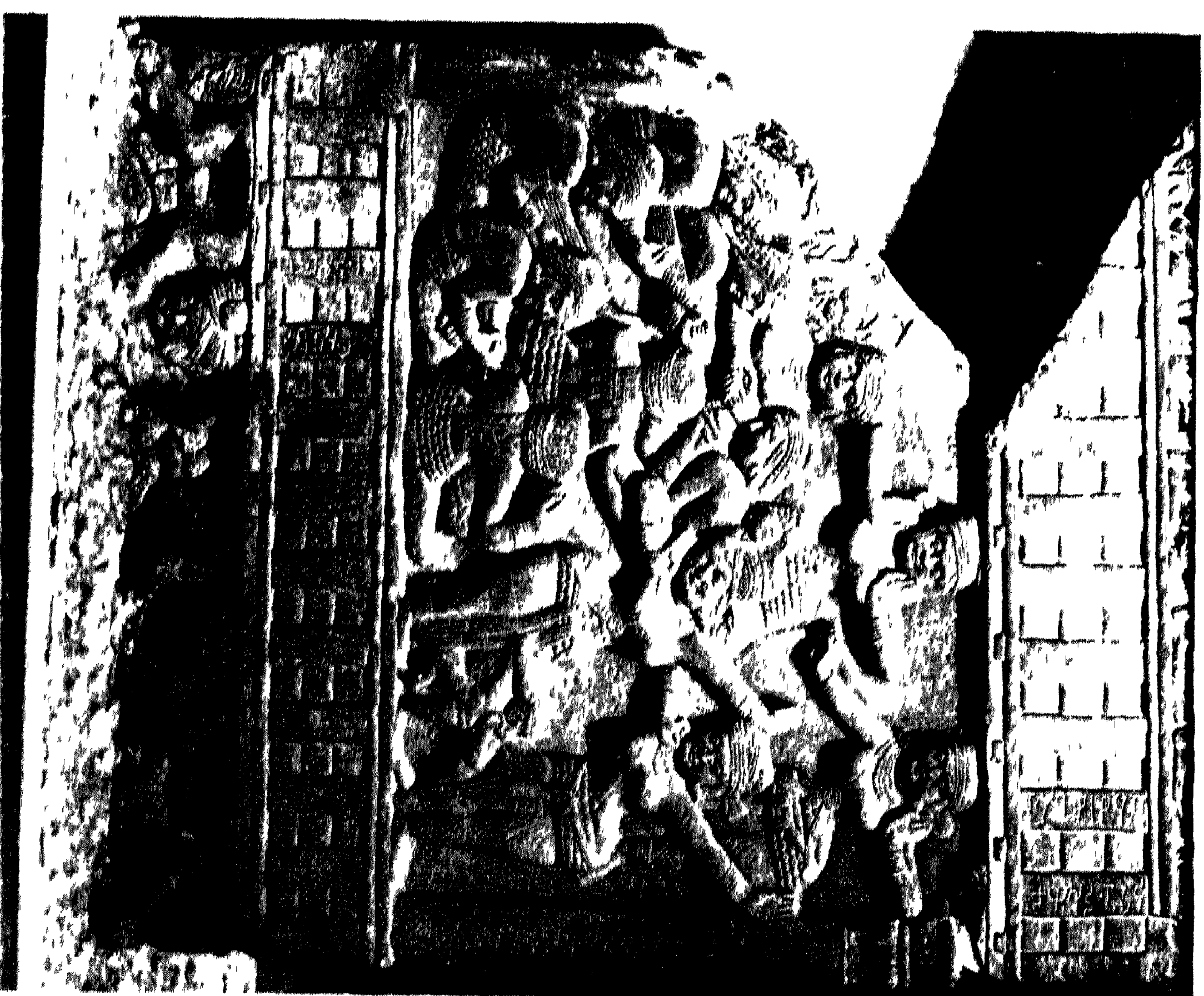
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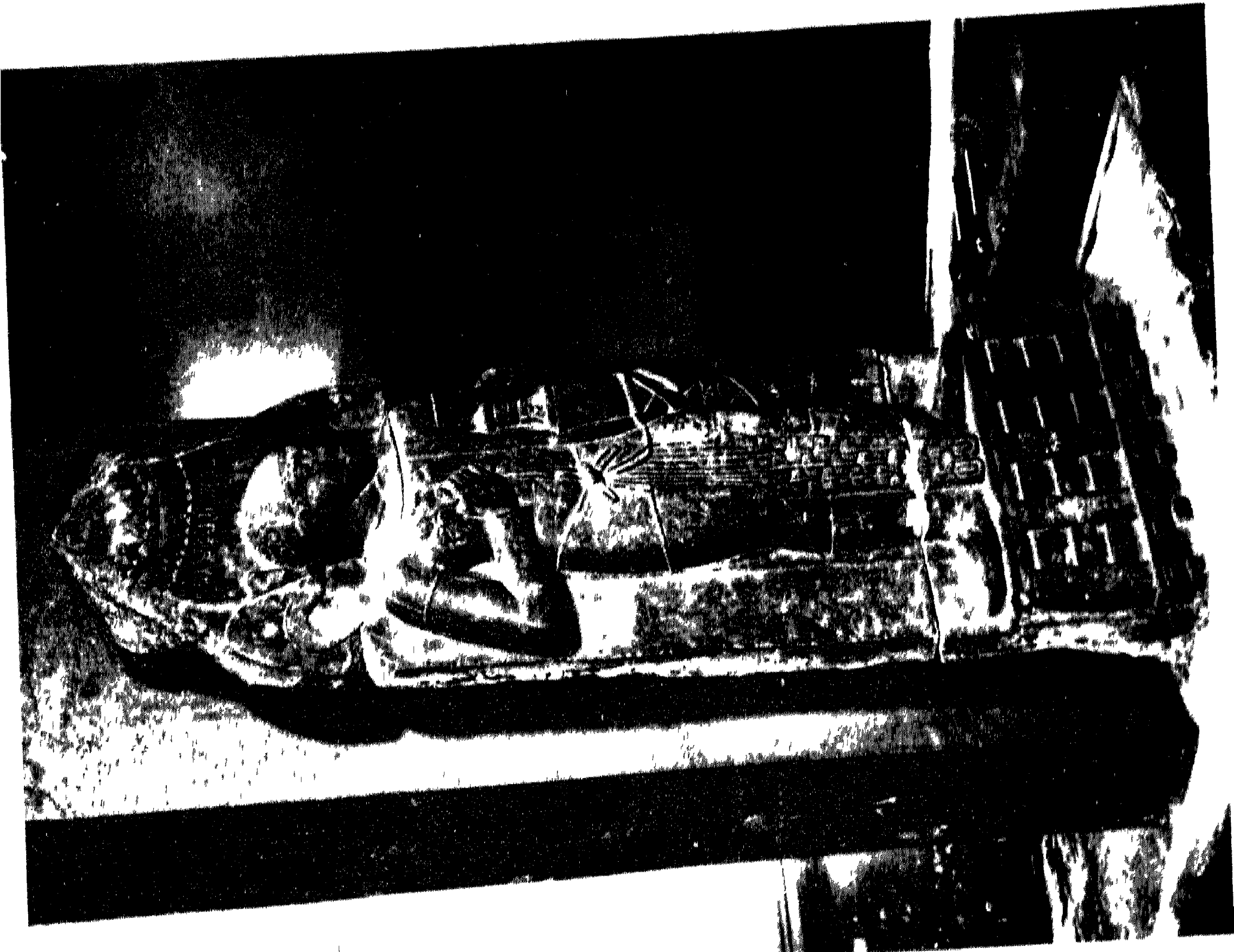


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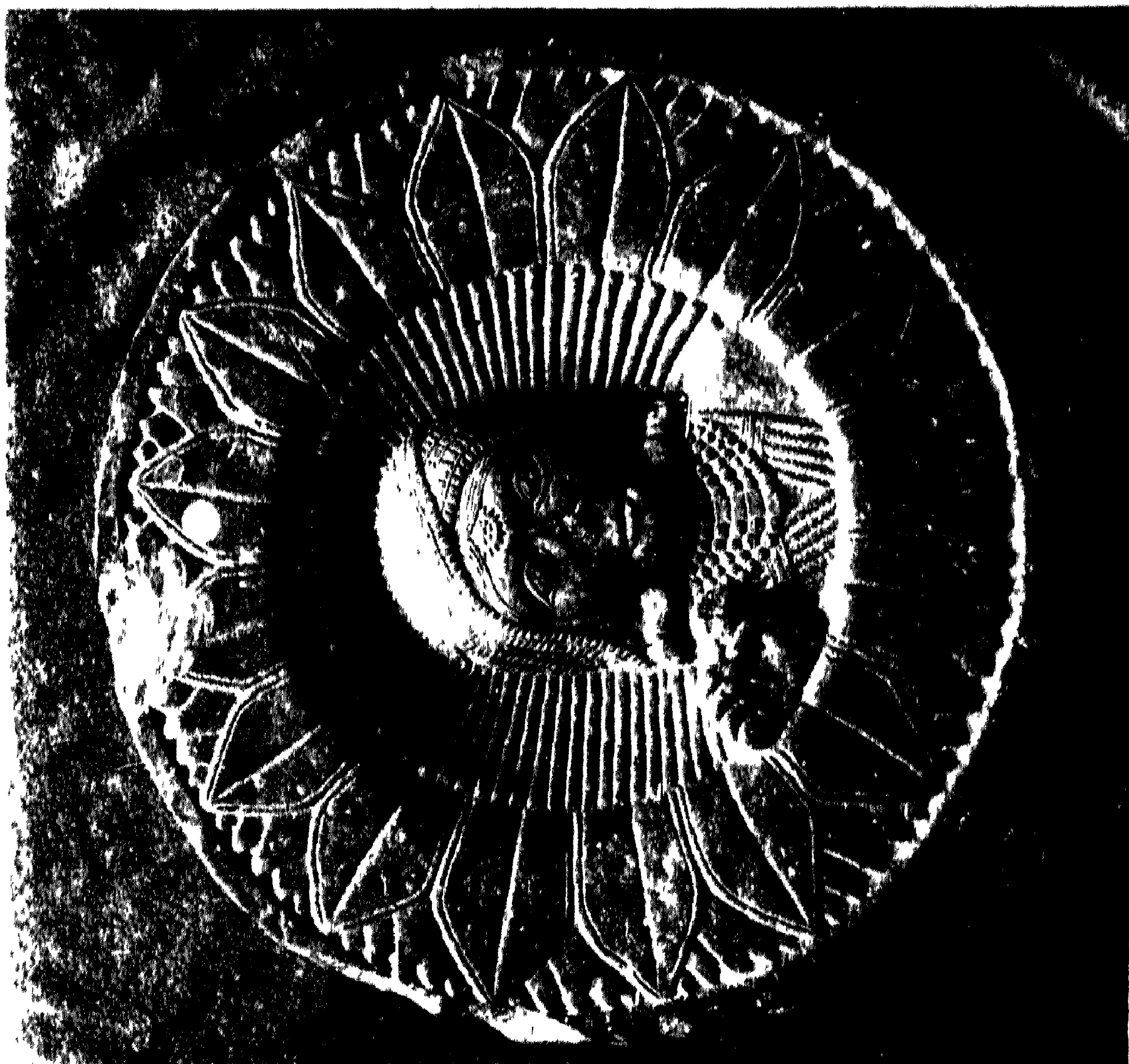




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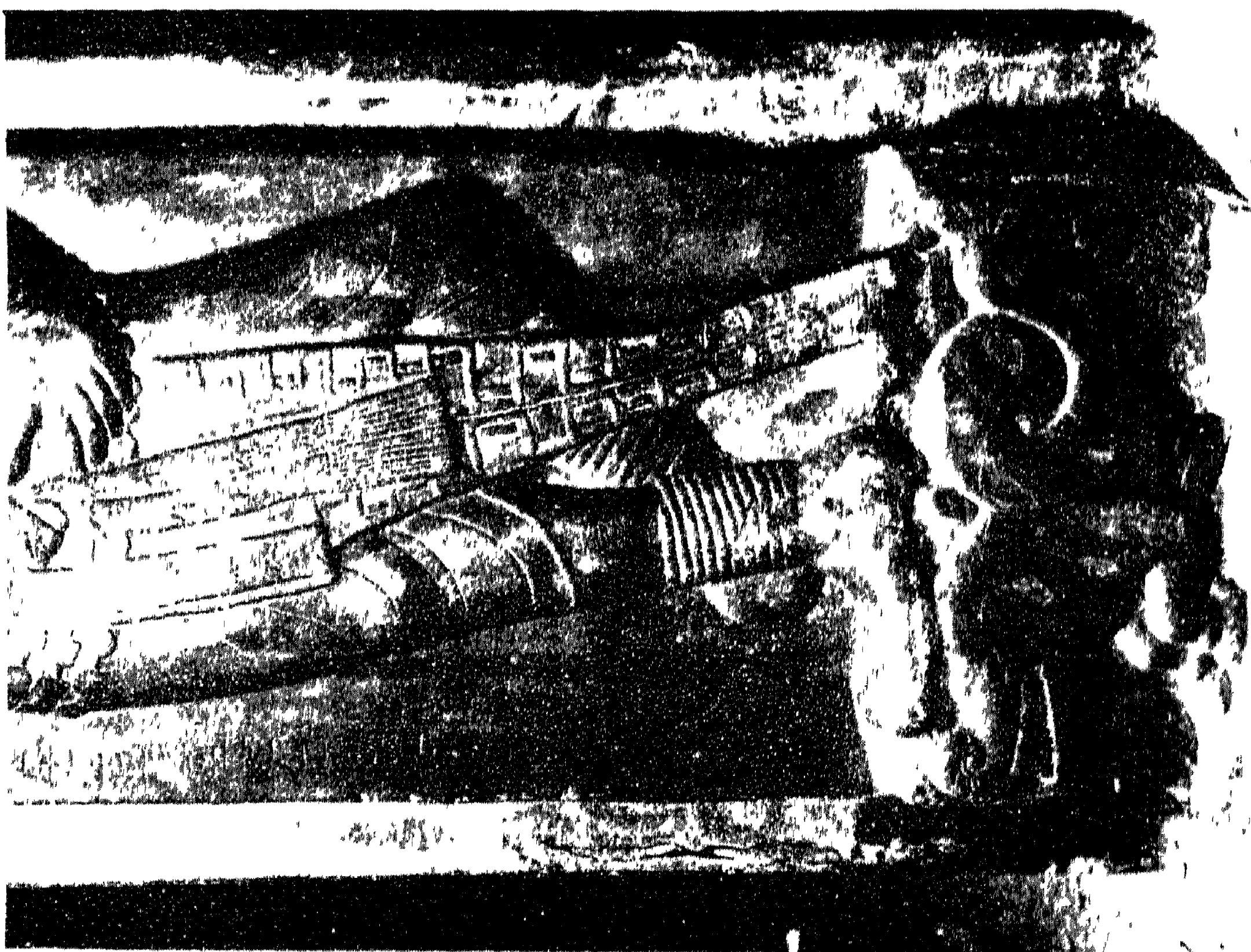
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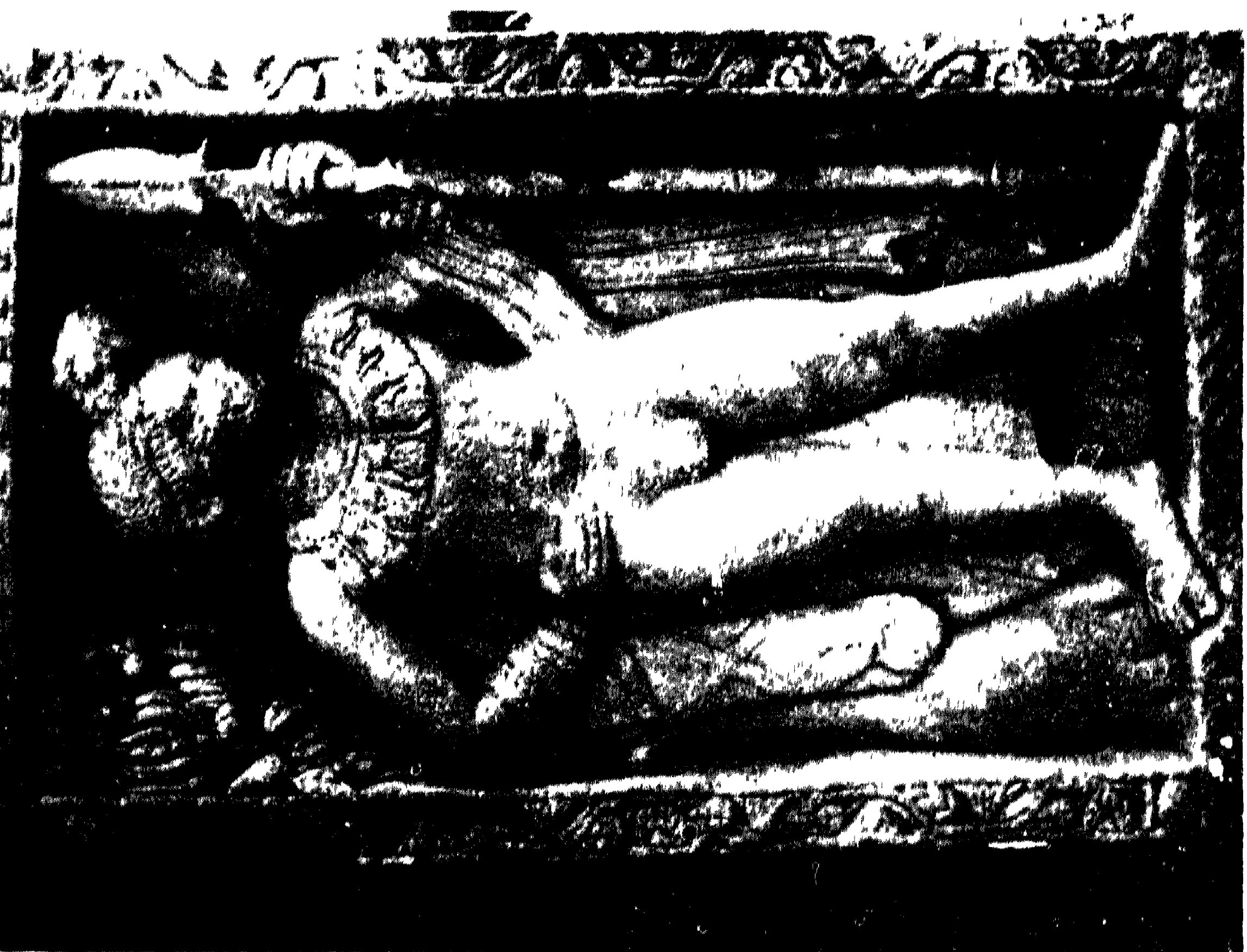


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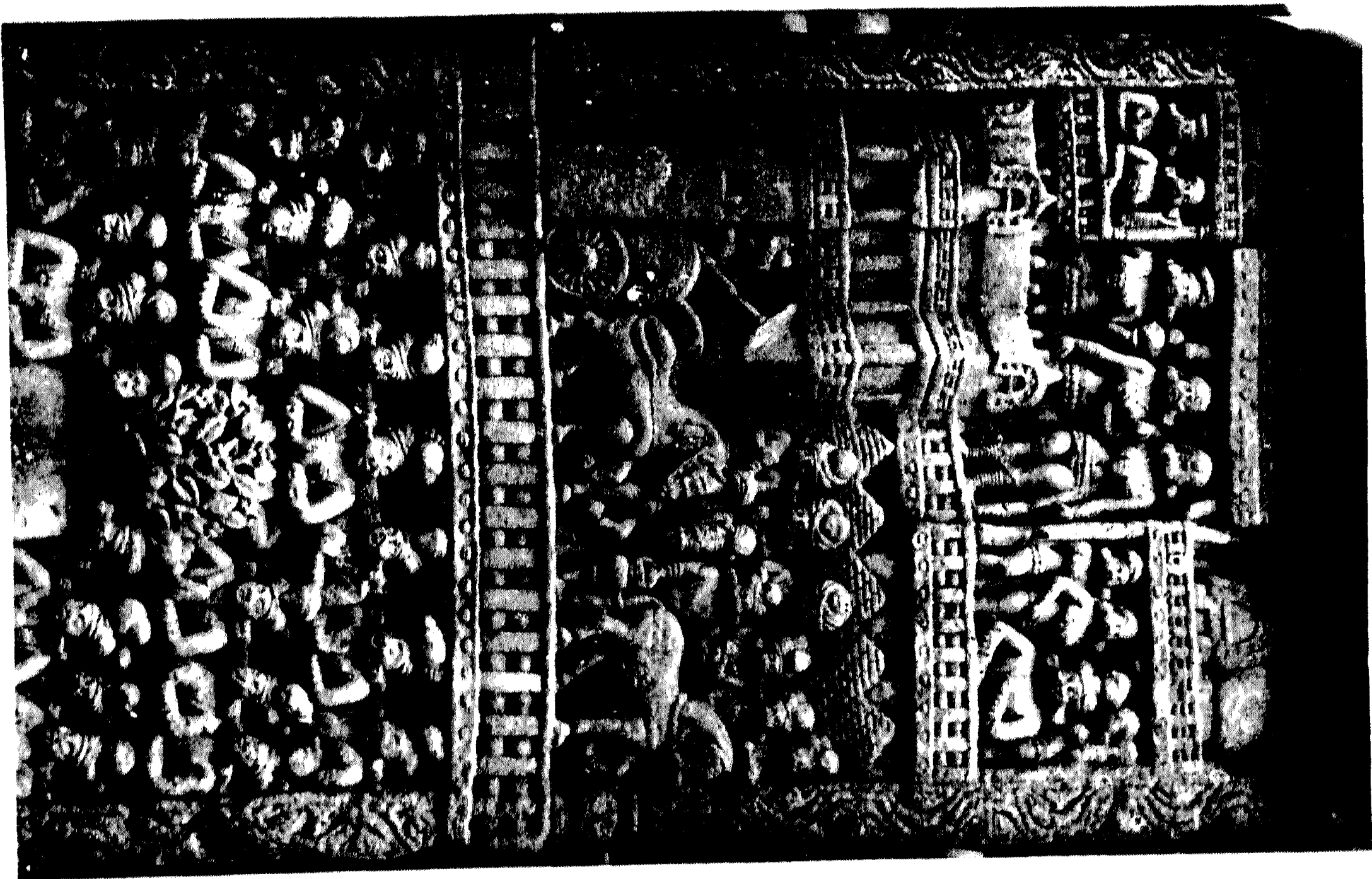
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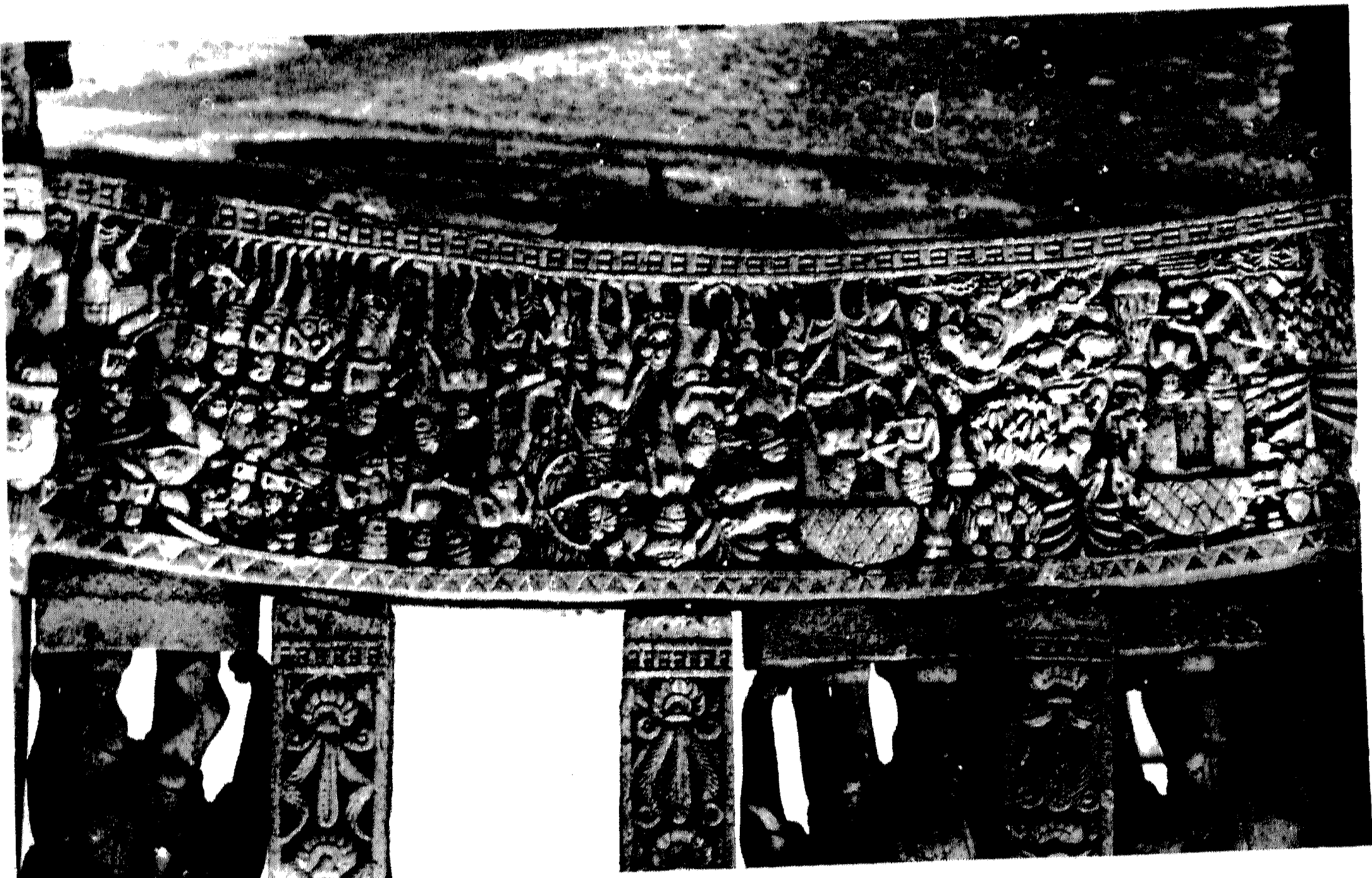
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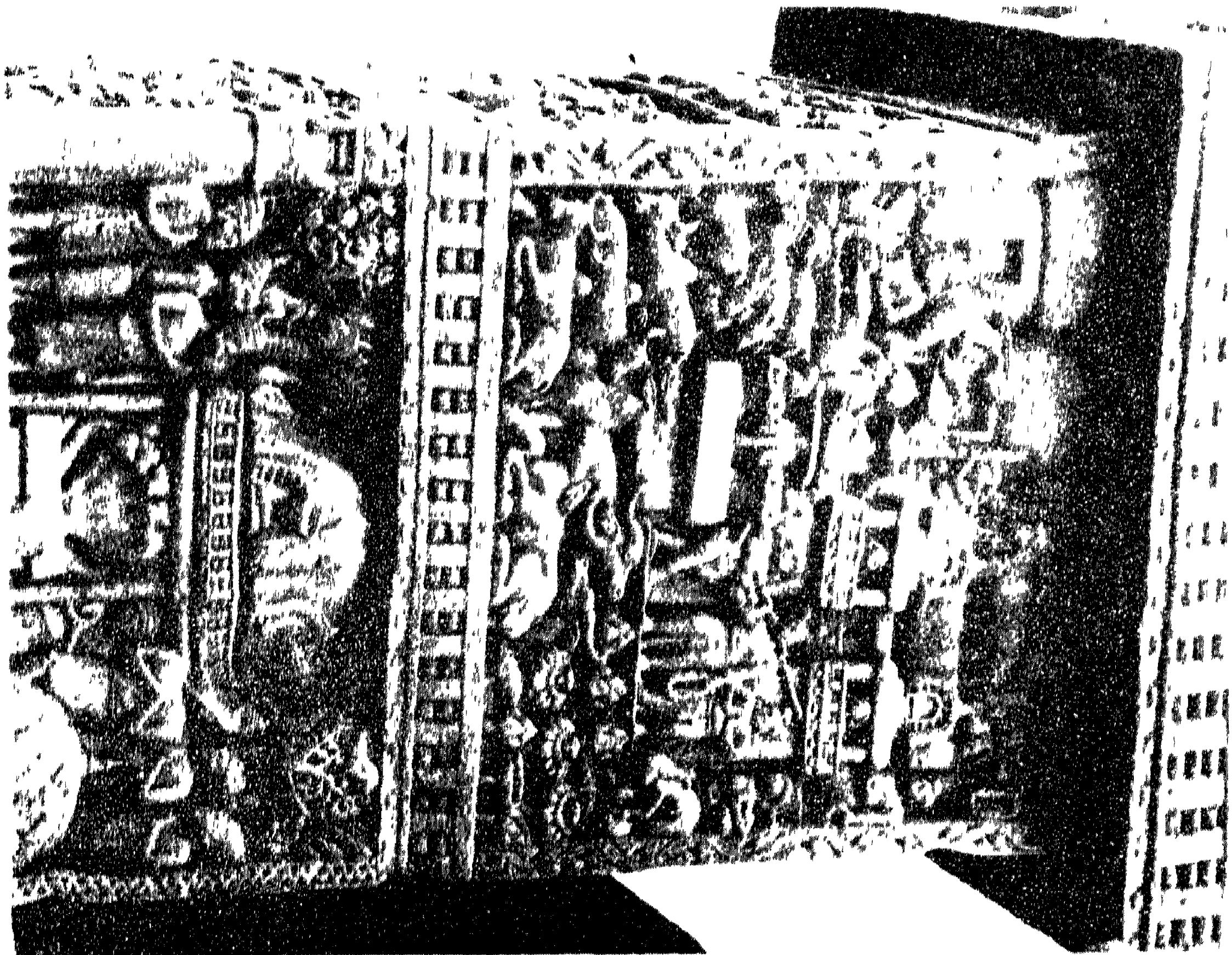
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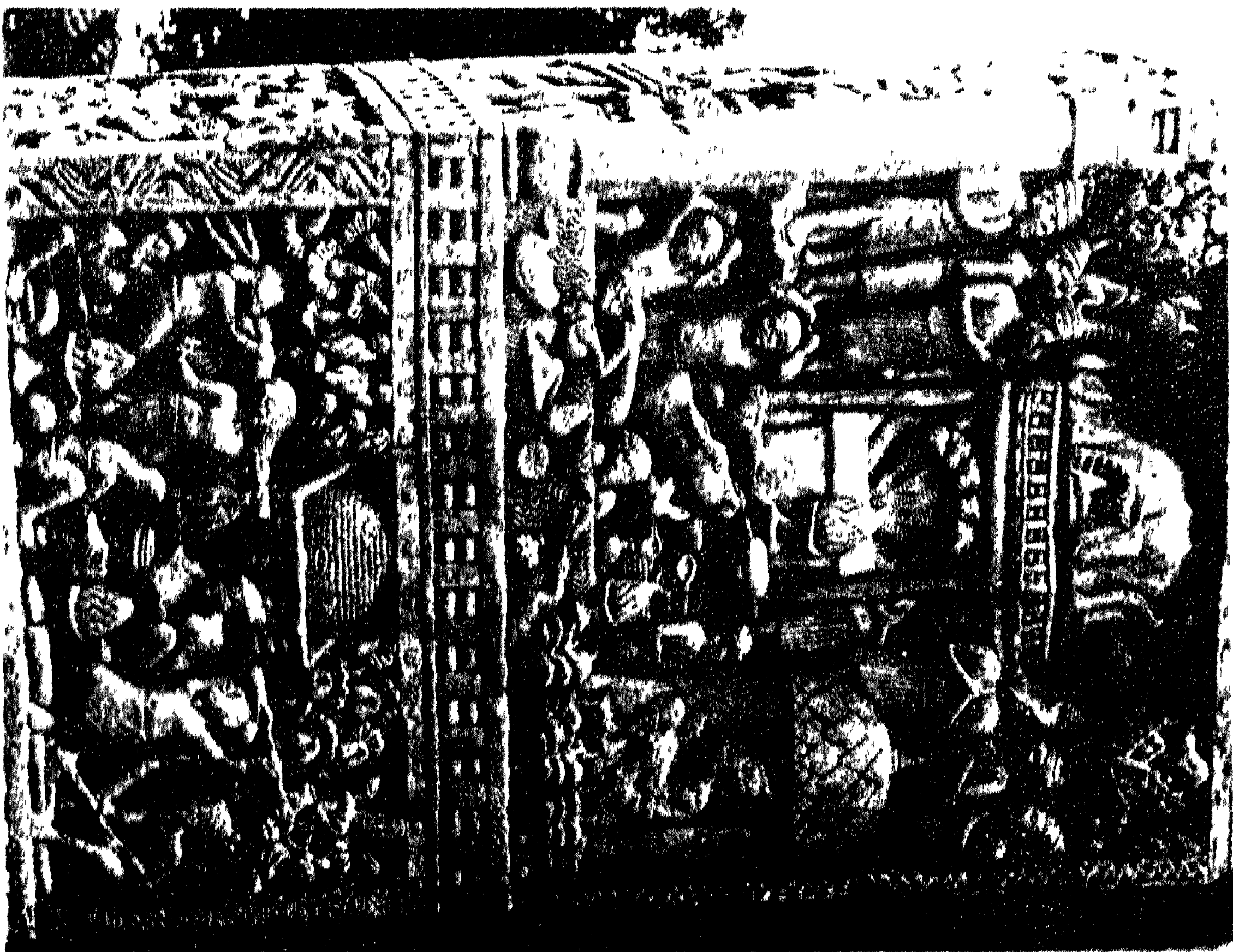
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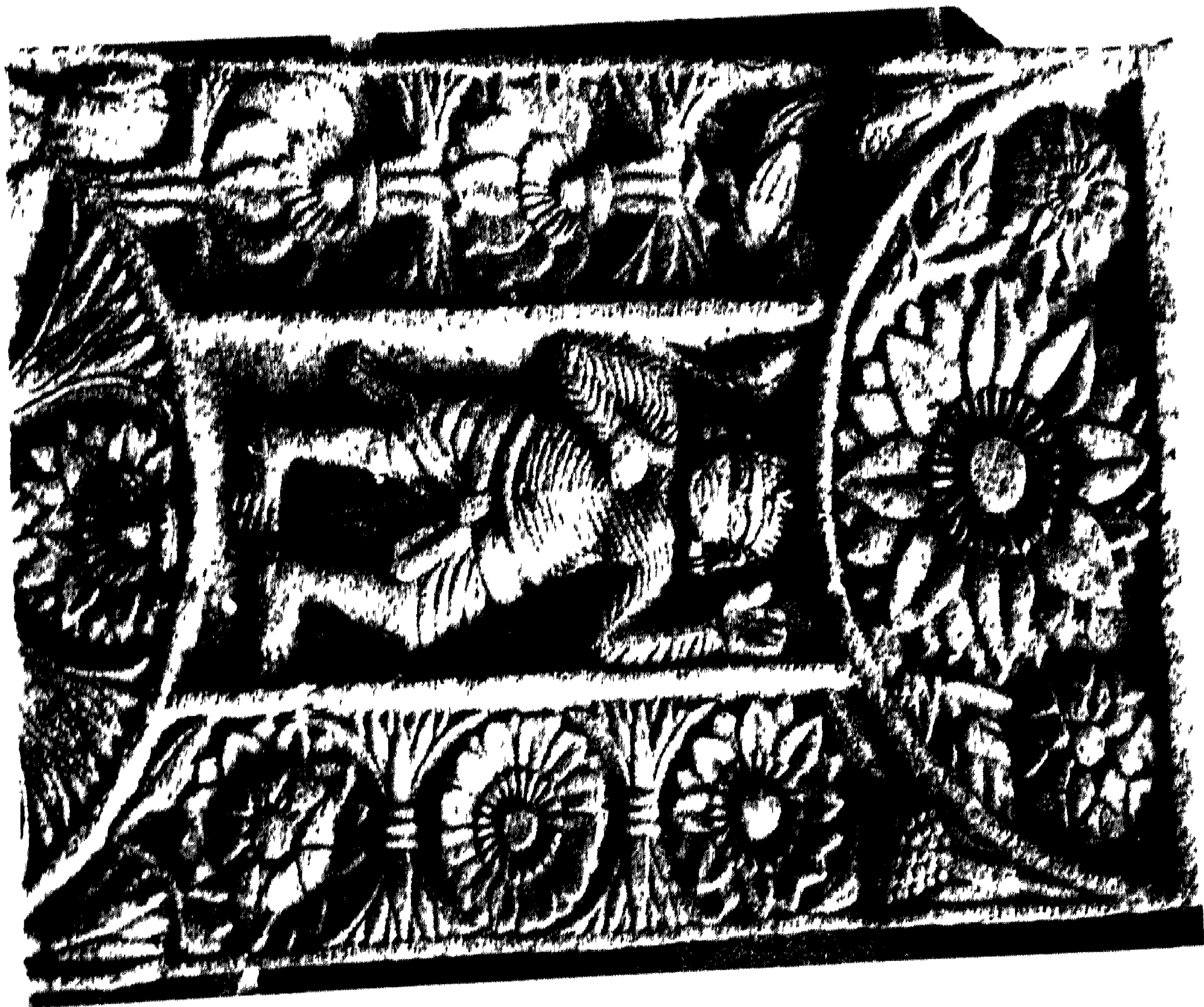
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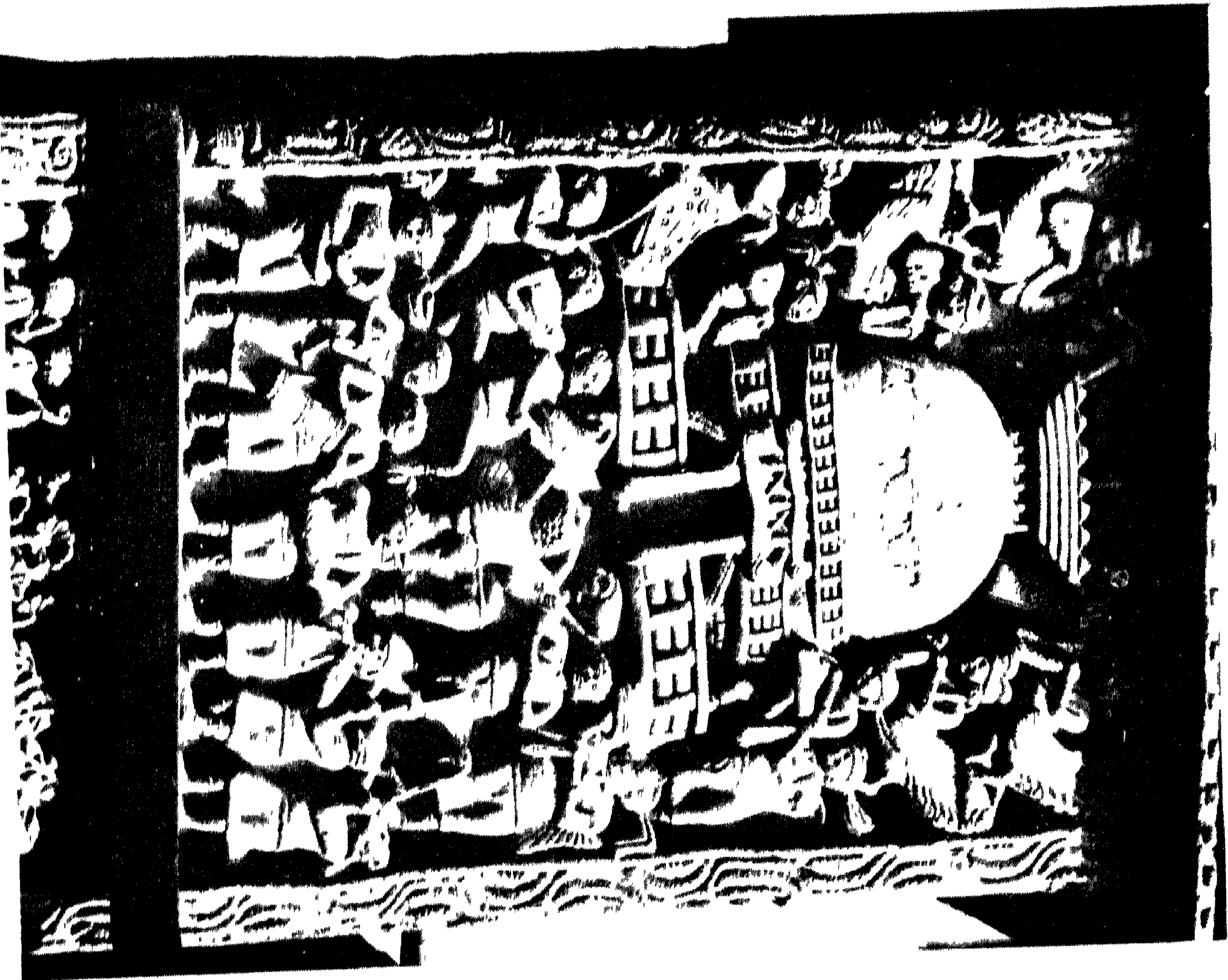


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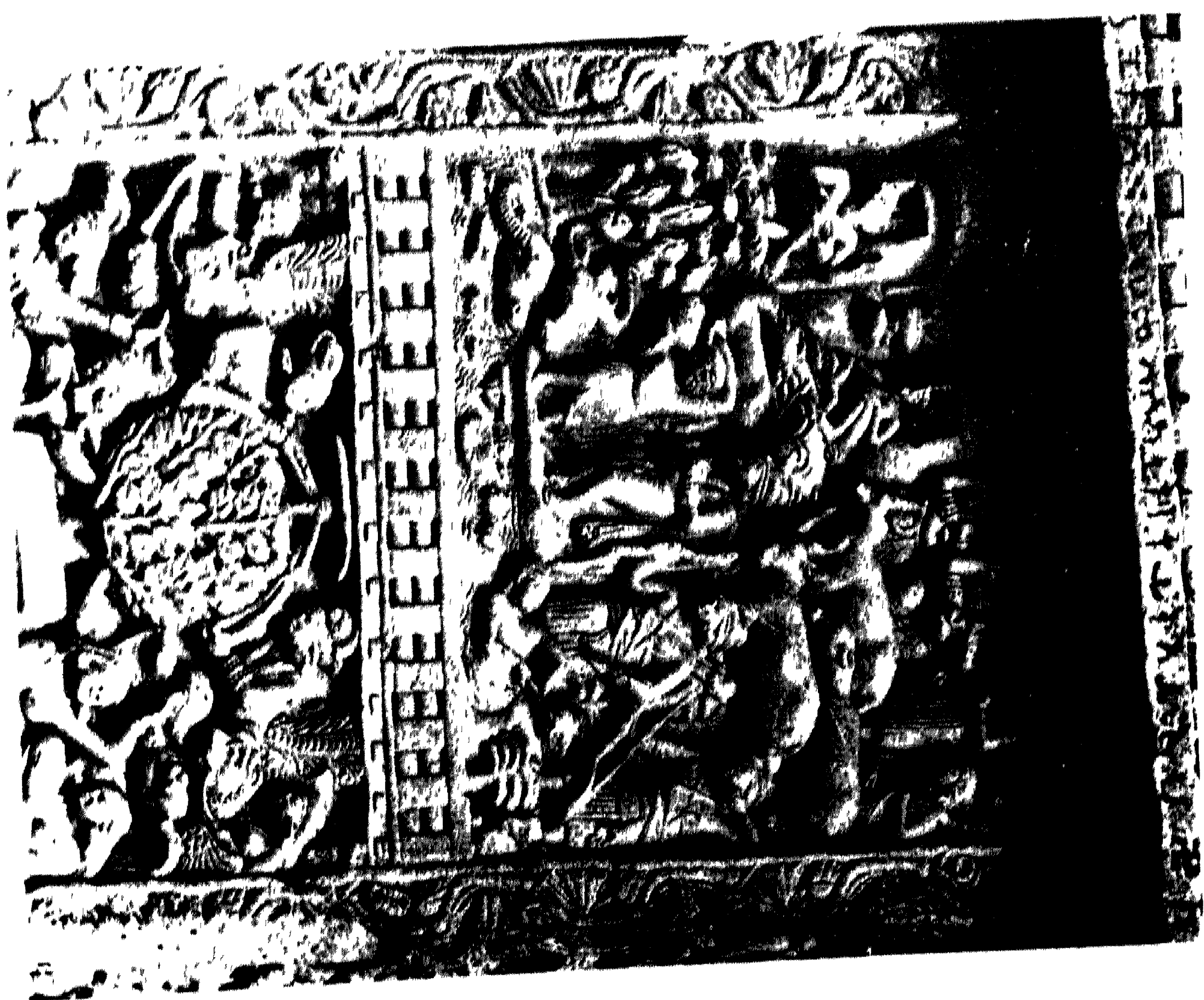


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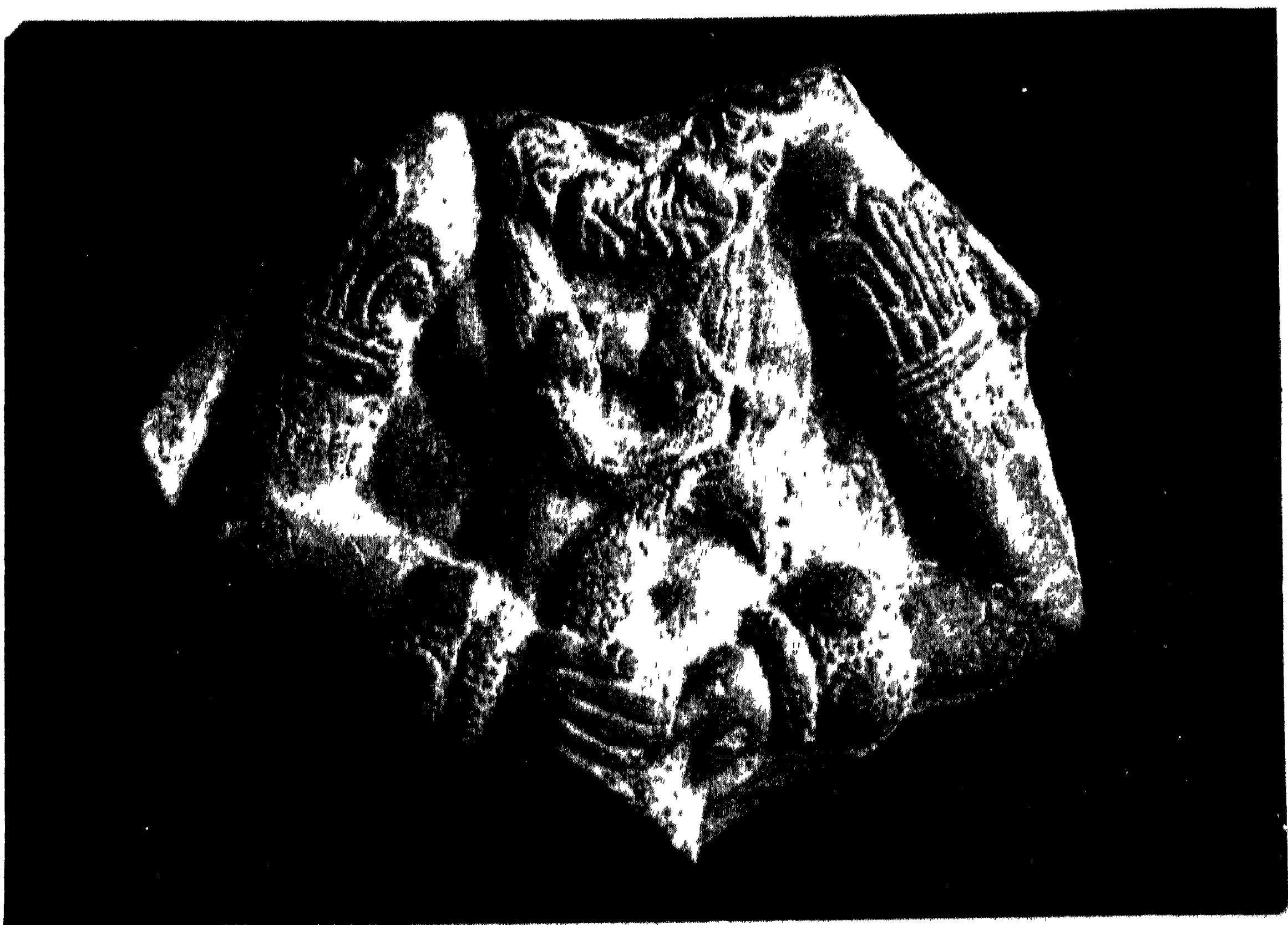
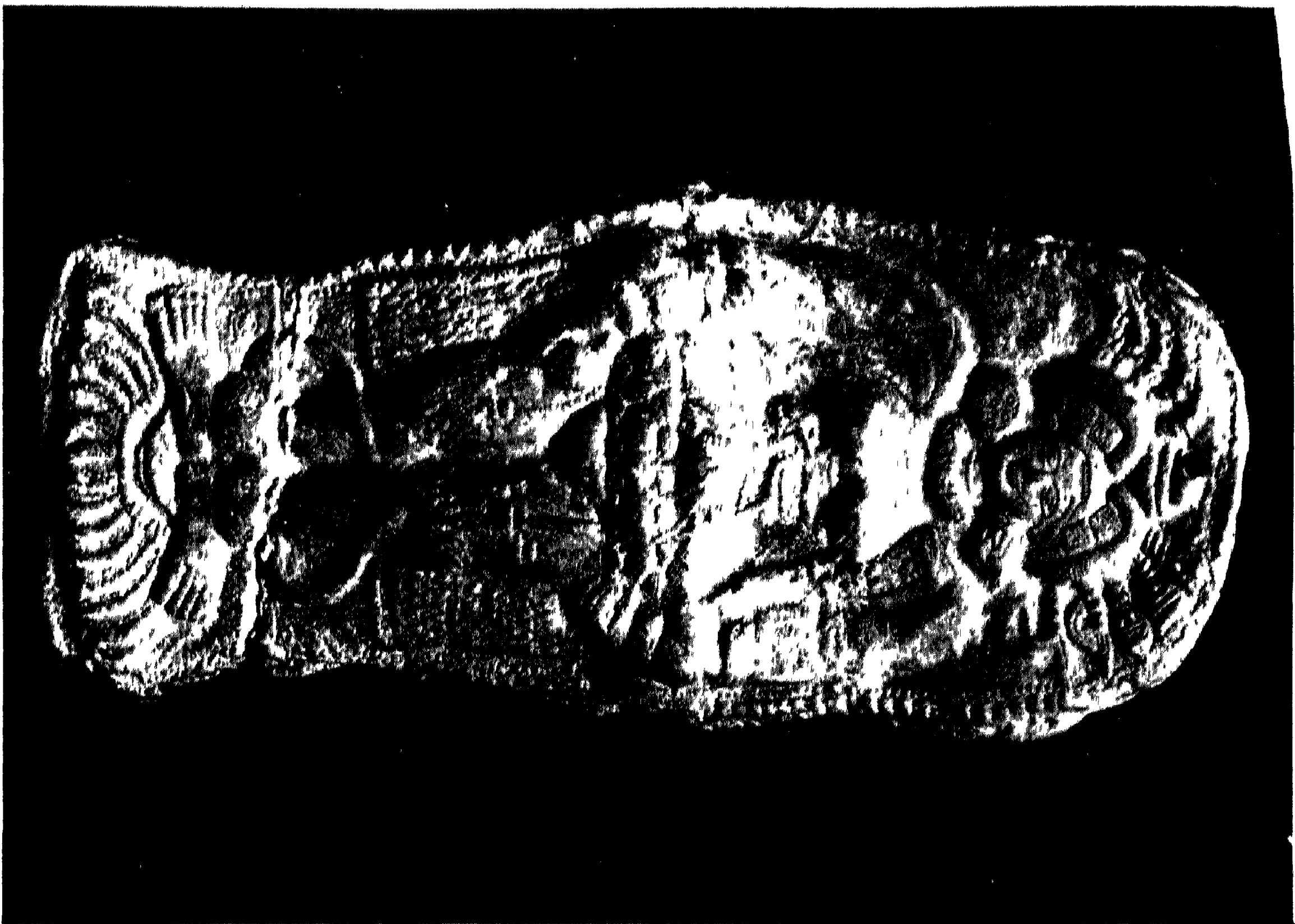


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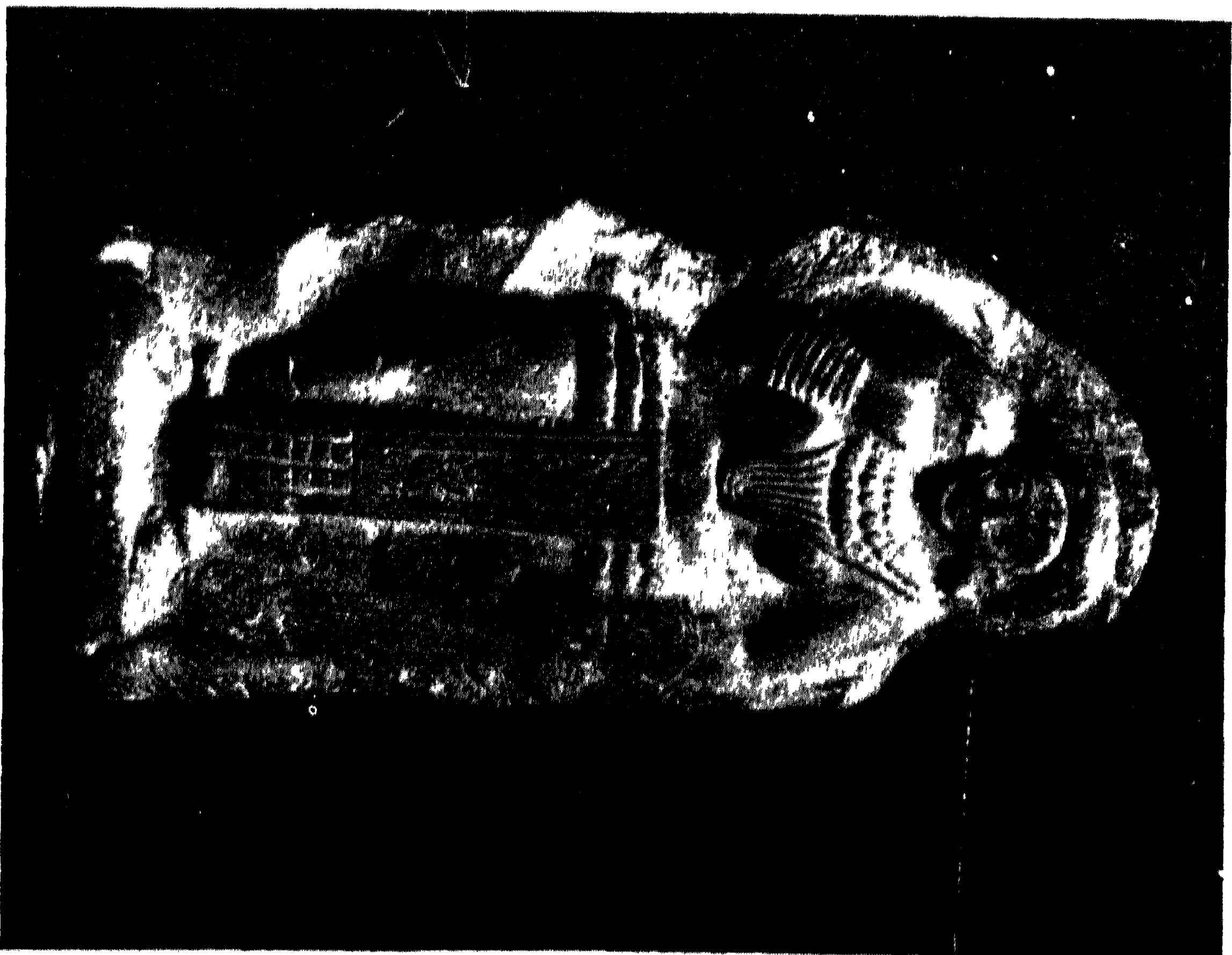
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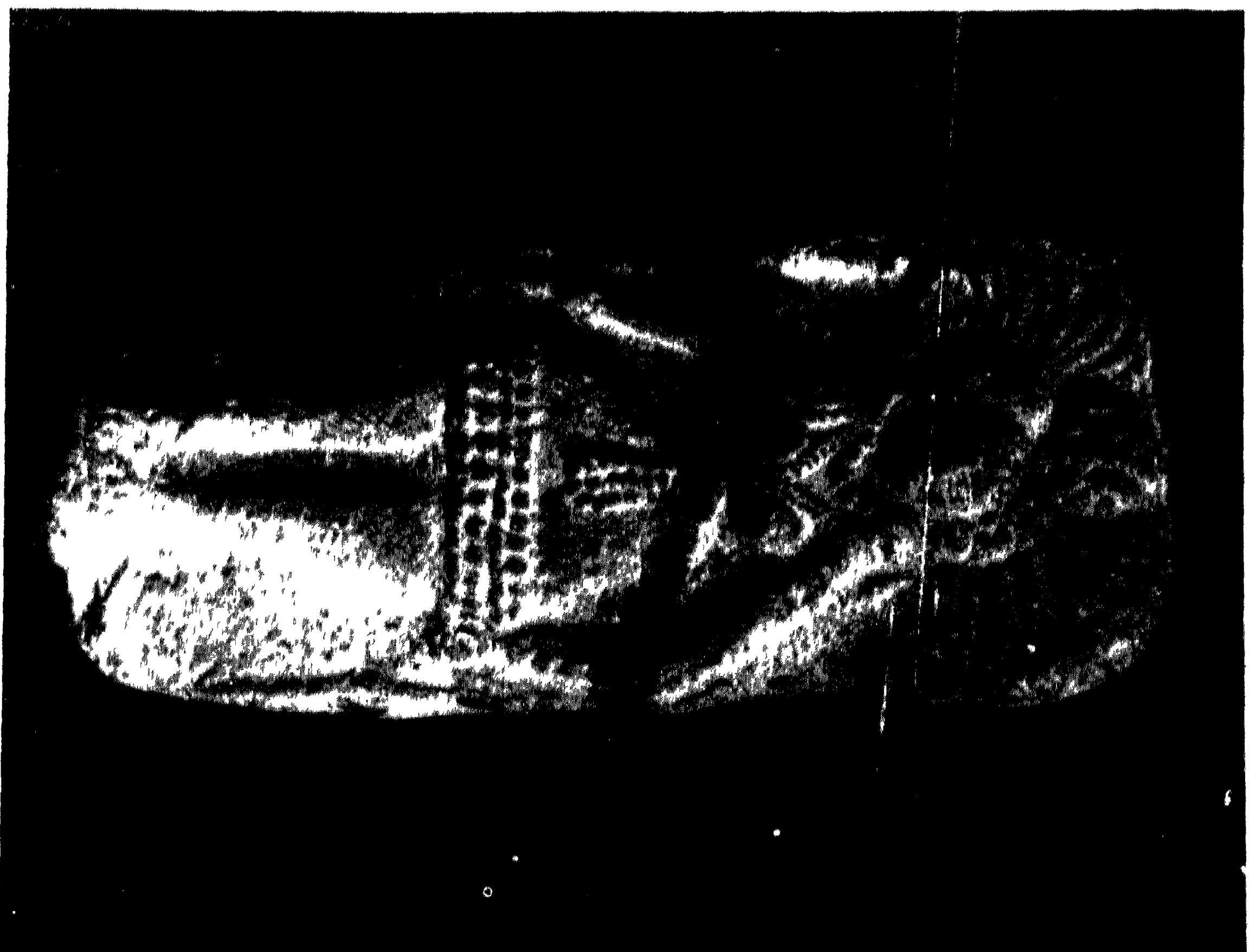


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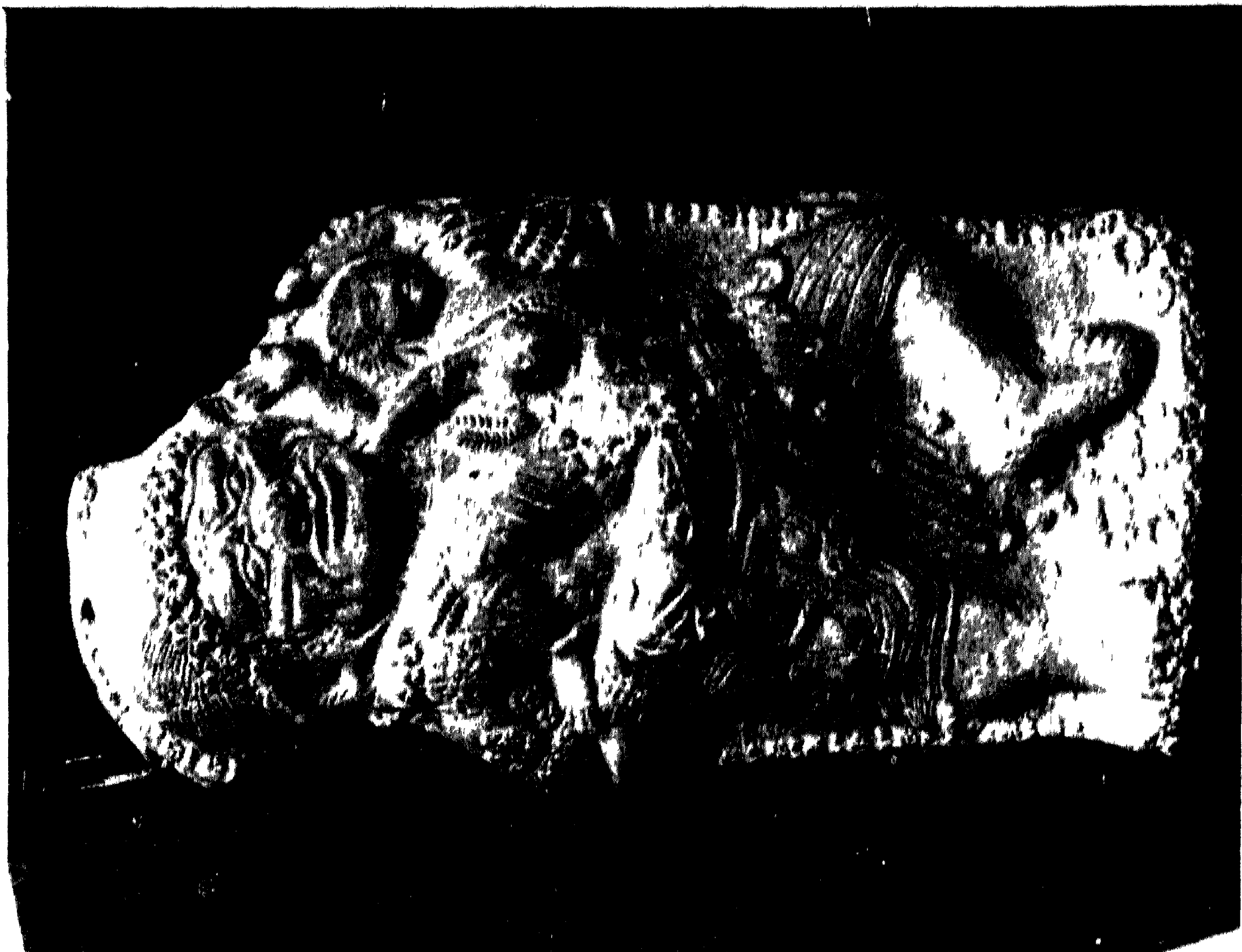




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